

By The Same Author

1. SOCIALISM: ITS EMBRYONIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.
2. BUSINESS ORGANISATION. (*Foreword by Principal M. L. Tannan. Publishers—Commercial Book Co., Lahore.*)
3. BUSINESS ENGLISH. (*Foreword by Principal S. R. Davar. Publishers—The Indian Press, Allahabad.*)
4. COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGHULS. (*Foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Meston. Publishers—D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay.*)
5. THE GREAT REALITY. (Publishers—Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad.)
6. THE 'VARSHIS. (Publishers—Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad.)

Post-War Construction

By

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KITAB-MAHAL
ALLAHABAD

PRINTED BY J. K. SHARMA AT THE ALLAHABAD LAW
JOURNAL PRESS, ALLAHABAD AND PUBLISHED BY
KITAB-MAHAL, ALLAHABAD

“All are architects of Fate,
Working in these Walls of Time ;

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For the structure that we raise,
Time is with materials filled ;
Our to-days and yesterdays
Are the blocks with which we build.
Build to-day, then, strong and sure,
With a firm and ample base ;
And ascending and secure
Shall to-morrow finds its place.”

Longfellow.

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PERSONAL NOTE

“Your creeds are dead, your rites are dead,
Your social order too !
Where tarries He, the Power who said :
See, I make all things new.”

This book is a plea for not freezing the new surge, and “Reconstruction” definitely does it. The urge for a new world should not be choked off particularly as the conditions of the past shall not be the conditions of the future. In writing upon Construction, I admit I have swung to the other extreme ; because the conditions which I visualise are the conditions of the remote future, and not of the period immediately after the war tho’ to a very large extent they will share the characteristics which I have discussed.

But I cannot ignore the stay put or ‘back to Nature’ mentality. Forces are being released very persistently and very insistently

to keep the on-ward rushing humanity securely segregated in water-tight blocks, and the division to be maintained on Color basis ! And this arbitrary, artificial, atrocious order to be set going at the point of bayonet and not by Reason ! This way lies an unending series of wars. The world while playing the game of War No. 2 is setting the stage right for War No. 3.

Not only the tempo of the changes has accelerated considerably, but their pitch has gone up very high. The rapidity with which the changes occur has got to be adjusted by the increased adaptability of man. Rapidity and Adaptability must synchronise if humanity is not to topple down. Fortunately, in man, adaptability is more mental rather than organic. Organic adaptability takes a lot of time, mental adaptability is independent of time.

The whole crisis has arisen on account of man possessing the knowledge and Power of the adult but the wisdom of the Child. Science gives us powers fit for the gods, yet we bring to their use the mentality of school-boys and

savages. Is it not a fact that supermen made air-crafts, and apes got hold of them? What powers are given to us by the wireless? And do we not use it for exploding bombs? Therefore, more wisdom has to be acquired by man if he is expected to use his powers for the benefit of man.

This is the domain of Education—rightly understood and rightly applied. But the great tragedy is that even in this most important man-moulding sphere, the deity of Chaos reigns supreme. As for this subject. I gave the space of full one book “The ‘varsities,” so I shall not say much on it. A few remarks are, however, necessary. The ‘Varsity education must set its mark upon education in the schools and colleges, and it cannot do it unless it drives out “the ogre of vote,”¹ and concentrates upon liberalising and developing Thought. It must switch itself away from Knowledge, and on to Wisdom. The only way to acquire wisdom is to continuously read

¹ See “The ‘Varsities.”

the Book of Life, and to test the ideas on the anvil of Life. The dross is rejected, and the pure stuff is gathered. Thus the nugget of Thought goes on increasing.

Apropos the above, one new piece of thought which has dawned upon the 'varsities is the manufacture on a large scale of "intimate personal contact" between the teachers and the taught without in the least trying to understand whether the phrase has any meaning. If it has a meaning, can it be manufactured to order? And if it can be manufactured, is there any sense in applying it to 'Varsities where chaperoning is distinctly out of place?

The phrase is meaningless just as the other meaningless phrase 'most obedient servant'—a patent of the Governments in this country! Intimate personal contact cannot be manufactured to order as personal factors cannot be ignored. And its application in the 'varsities will be ineffective because of the wrong approach it makes. Writing on this senseless, meaningless phrase 'intimate personal contact,'

a gentleman of very high repute and status says "How then are universities to teach? Is their teaching to consist of nothing else but the pumping of lecture notes into the unhappy student, as food is forced down the throat of fowls who are being fattened for the market?" I call it very graphic and excellent, but does it carry us far? When will the people realise that teaching in the 'Varsities should be made up of ten per centum lectures, and ninety per centum of self-acquired knowledge thro' the medium of thought? The rigid superimposition of the crystallised ideas of the teacher upon the fluid ideas of the taught retards the growth of mind, and that is a menace to society which must be guarded against. The root of all knowledge is Life. Therefore, let the students plan life, live life, play with life; and thus gather their knowledge from the palpitating, real, live Book of Life. And if in this neo-varsity mode of education, they get "fattened," then that will be one point more against the forced 'intimate personal contact.'

I visualise the evolution of human society

as a progress from socialism to socialism—from the simple, limited tribal socialism of early man to the complex, universal socialism of Post-war. Good deal of information on this point will be found in this book.

I have always been opposed to the artificial importance which people give to money tho' I am the first to admit its usefulness as a lubricant *par excellence* for the wheels of life. Those who love hoarding it—a distinct anti-social act—should know that they cannot get it transmitted to the place, if any, where they go to after they leave this planet as this work is *ultra vires* the Postal Department of the Government of India. I am glad this war has amply demonstrated my views. The facile ease with which money can be made—any extent, and the farcical efforts—mostly non-ethical—which can secure big sums are instances which make money 'cheap' and undesirable beyond a certain point. Those who still hanker after a fortune, I give them a tip : "Big fortune is made not by work, but by putting one's mouth on the nipple and sucking it dry ;

and one runs thro' a fortune by playing with it."

I hope the academic controversy between non-violence and violence is over for ever. A factual interpretation of Life clearly shows that both are necessary to life. I quote myself on the above issue: "Non-violence and violence are the obverse and the reverse of the coin of Life, and Wardha is busy in uttering coins with only one side." I have brought in "Domestic Politics" in this book and I hope serious attention will be given to the subject. Domestic Politics is bound to create bad blood, and I want this evil to be nipped in the bud. If allowed to blossom, it will foul life. I have given in the Appendix, a few instances of the bad behaviourism of the foreigners. I wish to warn the Indians mostly the Brown Bureaucrats against their rapid contamination. They should be on guard as bad manners in an Indian are a direct reflection on his breeding and up-bringing.

I have had my say, and I would be glad if my ideas gain currency and impress a few.

All that I say now as a parting shot is that we are witnessing a great revolution, and I do not believe in projecting mammoth changes by spraying perfume even tho' I very much wish I could do it. Therefore, for 'stinks' which may be many, I confess my inability to avoid them.

LUCKNOW

D. PANT.

CHAPTER I
CONSTRUCTION

*"Nor attempt the Future's portals with the Past's
blood-rusted key."* (Lowell).

It has become a fashion to use the word re-construction for adjusting the problems which arise just after the war No. 2 is over. The Governments—Central, Provincial (of India), and of Great Britain and U. S. A.—are enamoured of this magical word Re-construction which is supposed to solve all the ills which have arisen and which are sure to arise when the war is over.

Various Committees have been formed, statistical data are being collected with a view to make up the loss caused by the war. A persistent idea prevails that the work of post-war adjustment is essentially a work of building upon the old 'bed' and following the old alignments. Nobody has so far sounded the

clarion call of Construction. Parrot-like everybody repeats *ad nauseam* the word Re-construction which is not only wrong, but fraught with great evil.

This war has not only worn out the 'carpet' (surface), it has cracked the 'bed' (foundation) of the human society. Therefore, when the war is over, attempts shall have to be made to discover a new bed for the construction of the human society. Life can neither be squeezed to get into the old groove, nor it can be made to flow on the old bed. Any attempt in that direction will break the banks, and carry away the few landmarks which we possess. Life will get so muddled and so chaotic that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to canalise it into right channels.

Those who have the knowledge, wisdom, and understanding—the latter is getting rarer and rarer—see the new vision. To-day their voice is a voice in wilderness; but they are sure to gather momentum and gain their way, if the present race is to survive and avoid the unending series of wars to-morrow. They con-

demn unequivocally the plan of re-construction, for they are rightly convinced that it is a retrograde plan as it attempts to force humanity to move backward.

The tempo of life has increased to such an extent and, what is more, it is increasing at such a pace that any plan of building up must assume the destruction of the old bed on which life used to run. Thus the prime need of a new bed with new alignments is obvious. That is why they consider the word construction more correct than the present *fetish* of re-construction.

Most of the man-made barriers like the artificial, arbitrary divisions of the Earth into so many hundreds of independent units; the division of men on racial lines with the growth of fissiparous tendencies *inter se* the groups; the barrages to obstruct the free flow of life; the handicaps—Political, Social, and Economic—to which teeming millions are subjected to-day shall have to be clean wiped out in order to enable the world to build safe and sound for To-morrow.

This war has pushed us a step up, and we must construct on it. Re-construction, on the other hand; wants to push us a step down and build upon the old base. How can it be possible? This war has shown the utter futility of Nationalism. No nation can maintain its freedom unless it federates with other groups. A little thinking will show that the federal group will be a much bigger thing than what the world realises to-day. And the chances of these federal groups coalescing into one world group are not so unreal as the people imagine to-day.

Why I condemn the word re-construction is due to the fact that it presupposes going back and building upon old values. Man has come into his kingdom and he cannot be permanently placed under another man: Man's domination over another man is over. *Herrenvolkes*, *Kodos*, white race are good exhibits in the Race Museum. Beyond symbolising the fossil values of the Dark Age—right up to the forties of the twentieth Century—they have no utility of their own to-day. In the demand for

Lebensraum, man's requirements qua man must receive the first consideration if the human society is to jog on, and not to be blown up sky high.

All the man-made checks and barriers must be removed, and Life should be provided with a bed on which it can flow freely. The forcing of life underground, or squeezing it to fit into the old groove is not, and cannot be, in the interest of man.

Very few people realise the part played by the development of transport and communication. The remotest parts of the world have been brought closer, and international co-operation in the realms of intellect and production of goods is so close that one will be justified in taking the whole world as one city wherein the different countries are as so many streets in that city.

The flash of news and views has brought about revolutionary changes in the make-up of man. The expression of Space in terms of Time, the currency of the events and happenings in the twinkling of an eye have

emboldened man to link his world with the millions of worlds in Space.

How then can there be any talk of re-construction when such profound changes are taking place? and shall take place more and more when the war is over? Can one even approximately gauge the forces which this war has let loose? or their alignment when this war will be over? Let us remember that just as Transport has bridged time for matter, so Electricity has bridged time for mind. These two bridges have joined man into one linkless chain; and, unless the world is keen to witness a cataclysm and begin anew as of old, for man will not survive that cataclysm; these two bridges cannot be washed away.

The above is a solid fact which by mere wishful thinking cannot be liquified or turned into a gaseous state. And, therefore, it should not be ignored. Therein lies the safety of man.

I have so far made out a case for the use of the right word—Construction. This does not mean that we clean cut out re-construction or even maintenance. In M.P. (My Planning),

ninety per centum will be Construction and ten per centum, Re-construction. Some pieces from the old block might, after renovation, be utilisable, and they should be utilised. But most of it will be fit to be thrown on the scrap heap, without regret and without any pang of conscience, just as we amputate the unhealthy part. Thus we build *new*.

I have not said a word about maintenance so far because a sensible policy of Construction and Re-construction assumes right from the beginning a through and through policy of proper maintenance. It is a truism that once a thing is constructed, it must be properly maintained. I admit that this healthy principle has, times out of number, been wilfully and recklessly ignored by the Government in this country. And they are paying the price to-day. Whether we go in for construction or re-construction, we shall have to maintain them in a proper order unless they are so worn out that they become useless when they should be broken up and utilised as scraps.

This word—Re-construction—stinks foul as it makes one believe that the tin gods prefer ten per centum to ninety per centum. But there is nothing startling in this as they show their preference for the lesser number. Take two examples: the over-weightage of the minority, and the infamous Ottawa Pact. First needs no explanation, and the second only stressed the necessity of bolstering up forty per centum Empire Trade and clean throwing overboard, sixty per centum Non-Empire Trade.

I hope I have made my point clear. I repeat in the colossal changes taking place and the surge of new ideas, there is very little room for re-construction unless your aim is to let down the sluice-gates, dam the on-rushing forces and spread devastation far and wide as I don't believe the sluice-gates are strong enough to stand the plastering of the new forces.

But in Construction, what shall be the basic and derivative items? We must be clear on them, and we should not muddle.

In the whole world, it is only the genius of the Britisher to create muddles and steer clear thro' them. Others get stuck up and sucked in, and we are no exception. After all one must know one's limitations. It pays.

The construction of the post-war Society shall take into consideration two factors : one, Building Anew ; and the other, Normalising War Conditions. The immediate problem after the cessation of war would be the latter, but it cannot be successfully tackled until and unless the first is solved.

In Building Anew, there is no going back. The forces let loose by the war cannot be annihilated by a mere stroke of the pen. They must be studied, analysed, shifted, and co-ordinated. The clear pointers should not be ignored, and the right materials should be picked up and dove-tailed and properly surfaced : so that a durable base is secured.

The pointers are—to mention a few—
Man's refusal to admit man's domination over man, Formation of larger groups—extra-national, Correction of the Individual-State

ratio, Socialisation of Credit; the State cum Society taking upon itself the basic needs of man, etc. The prime need is to give to man ample scope for the development of his Personality, and thus raise his Self-respect.

The released war forces shall have to be normalised on the above plan. But there is a large number of people including the Governments which think that the old base will serve. They know not that it has not only cracked, but has been washed away. Even its debris can with difficulty be traced. It is for this reason that they talk of Re-construction. They must give up this wrong outlook as the picture they present is awry and incorrect.

In the free human society of To-morrow, the equality of man with man is a foregone conclusion. That does not mean equality in any mathematical sense. Differences will exist and they should not be arbitrarily brushed aside. They should be allowed a free scope to grow and develop, but they should not be permitted to mask and ultimately destroy the link which makes human brotherhood pos-

sible. The idea is not only to secure brotherhood in a small group, but to extend it so that it embraces the whole humanity.

The State has to correct its own perspective. It exists for the people, and not that the people exist for it. The best visualisation of the State is a pool which receives its share from the people, and returns to the people their augmented share,—augmentation arising from the co-operation between the people and the State. A sort of surplus return.

Wars are essentially destructive. They settle differences temporarily, but in this settling process they eat up wealth—Past, Present, and Future—and also the flower of the Nation: men imbued with high altruistic feelings and in the prime of their life. Bad men—skunks and cowards—*save their hide and line their pockets*. Thus wars cause three types of big losses; One, Destruction of Wealth; Two, Annihilation of the right type of men; and Three, Over-increase of bad men.

In conducting wars, the social organisation in its totality has to be altered to suit the

abnormal conditions created by wars. It stands to reason that when they are over, the organisation must be normalised. But that does not mean on the old basis, for it simply can't be done. Because during the war, people come into contact with their men and with their opponents. They get new ideas. The Tommy and Bolshie fraternise in the battle-field, and then go their way. Each imbibes something of the other ; and that tiny bit imbibed, persists and grows. The Indian and the European under the stress of war forget their fossil notions of caste, color and creed and come together. The understanding does develop tolerance and appreciation of the others' view-point. Even the allies contacting with the Axis acquire more correct notions than we are doled out in the Propaganda News.

Large number of new industries are started to cope with the war demand. The existing industries put up their pace, because of the increased orders. The large increase in currency, and the decrease in unemployment raise

the purchasing power of the people. Paradoxical as it may sound, an era of boom sets in during the period of destruction of life and property.

The people who pre-war had nothing to do, and for whom it was difficult to scrape a few rupees get employed on jobs which they could not dream of. They get flush. Even admitting that most of the jobs are temporary—only for the war period, yet they are the people who create problems which must be successfully handled after the war is over if the society is to remain stable.

The new people recruited to the army, the army of laborers working in the farm and in the factories, the expansion of existing offices and the opening up of new offices, the new contracts bringing in their trail an ever-increasing number of contractors and middlemen—all these and very many more bring down the unemployment figure to the level of zero. And these are the men who have seen the new vision. They have seen the breaking up of the old foundation. They have heard its

creakings and rumblings. *And they are not stay-put people.* Their whole make-up is such that they must leap forward or disrupt the present society.

Imagine all these people and these new forces set free after the cessation of the war harnessed and forced to get into the old ruts, how long those crumbling ruts can stand their hammering? Add to the above, the efforts that shall have to be made to clarify issues between countries which form the Allies group, and the state of tension between the Axis and the Allies groups—you form some idea of the vastness and the complexity of the problem.

The victorious countries shall demand satisfaction in cash or in kind, and it is all very well to say that they shall get it in proportion to the burden they carried. But pray, who is to weigh out the load, who is to ascertain it, and who is to parcel it out? And then there are different types of burden! One country got itself scorched, its people decimated, and its wealth blown up; while the other country made a big plunge into its gold vault. Who is

to establish parity between these two types of burden? And there are more types of burden than you got facets in the very crystal of Life.

The people of the defeated countries will be sullen and depressed. They play their game and they lose. But they will not pay their pound of flesh easily. And it's rather difficult to visualise that they shall be liquidated and wiped out of existence. The treaty of Berlin will keep the wounds open and festering, and new alignments can easily take place.

All these brain-splitting and nerve-racking problems can be fixed up in the new order if there is understanding, human sympathy, and fellowship. This does not mean that the guilty should go unpunished. They should be made to face an International Tribunal, but victimisation of the people should not be pursued.

The bond—linking the countries which have pooled their resources must be thickened and strengthened, and efforts—very honest efforts—should be made that it should not snap. The alliance should not be only for

the duration of the war, but it should be kept going for a decade at least after the cessation of the war. The longer the period, the better it would be for humanity.

There should not be any emotional planning for the people who would be demobbed. First question, why should they be demobbed? The strength of the Indian militia can never be at pre-war level—under three hundred thousand men. The war time strength of two and a half million ought to be the normal strength of Indian militia. In my opinion, ten million standing army will give India the right position she deserves in this universe.

I am quite conscious of the great burden that it will throw upon the finances of this poor country. But the questions which the country has to solve are : Has India reached the Revenue peak? and Is that peak static? Personally I feel India is earning one anna where she can earn a rupee. This one to sixteen ratio has to be increased.

Assuming that we stick to two and a half million figure, it is obvious that there is no

room for demobilisation in the Army. These people will have to be equipped, trained, and kept going. Again, it is obvious that the existing industries will have to be expanded, and more new industries will have to be started to cope with the increased demand. Thus the bogey of higher figure of unemployment would be laid low.

Even if in the change-over there is increased unemployment, do not try to fit in these men in any of the old agricultural pursuits in which they were engaged pre-war. These men have seen a little bit of the world. They have seen the new vision. They have tasted the amenities of the civilised city life. Their standard of living has definitely gone up. Any attempt to squeeze them into the old grooves would probably unsettle the village life as it is run to-day.

By all means, improve the villages. Make village life livable and attractive. But don't for a moment assume that there will be an automatic adjustment after the war stops—that these demobbed people will quietly go back

like sheep to their old pasture-lands and again pick up where they left. Free choice has to be given to the people: Industrial and Agricultural jobs have to be offered to them. In the plan for making villages attractive, the first item should be the education of the village girls. This, unfortunately, has not been given the consideration it deserves.

In the Past, most of life's knots were unravelled by God. These men like to unloosen their knots by themselves without having recourse to Him. In the Future, His hold will not remain as strong as it was in the Past. People are acquiring a right perspective about Hell and Heaven, and also about Him. So building upon Him will not play any important part in the New Order. The trend of the forces certainly point in the above direction.

The weightage which the pre-war world gave to barren money shall have to be taken off—the Bancors and the Unitas shall not be of much help in the Post-war world. Money as a servant of the people shall be tolerated,

but not as a master. Posterity will always scoff at us for equating money with high ethical values, and they shall never understand how millions starved when there was plenty to eat. After all, in the final analysis, wealth is created by man working upon Nature. This increased wealth will keep the wheels of Production revolving faster and faster and perpetually.

To-day, important and highly productive schemes are not taken up for lack of funds—an empty, high sounding phrase. But all countries are not running short of funds in financing the most unproductive activity of Man—War! In the New Order, the State will learn that productive schemes finance themselves. Set them going. *They Grow.*

CHAPTER II

AXIOMS AND POSTULATES

*"Unity in essentials, Liberty in non-essentials,
Charity in everything."*

There are some axioms which if rightly applied will help a good deal in laying the foundation truly and well, and the postulates will give a nice, durable 'carpet.'

The axioms are Equality of Position, Mutuality of Interests, and Self-determination. The postulates are Equality in Inequality, Reconciliation of Divergent Interests, and Qualified Self-determination.

In M.P., Axioms and Postulates will ever be kept in view in order to construct the new foundation on which life will run smoothly. Enough of elasticity will be provided for adjustments in future. Rigidity will be avoided at all cost. All that is required is to under-

stand clearly what these axioms and postulates mean and aim at.

Now take Equality of Position. This does not mean that everybody shall be brought down to one common level. Different men having different qualities shall occupy different positions just as they do to-day, but with this difference that the nefarious pulls like Nepotism, Jobbery, Favouritism will be weeded out and not allowed to exist. Further, the different positions will confer no differential extra-man advantages. Man's rights *qua* man will not vary.

This axiom visualises human life as organised in the form of a pyramid. It does not believe in juxtapositioning the apex and the base. It believes in pulling the base up in order to shift the whole human pyramid to a higher level.

The inequality due to the differential qualities—latent or patent in man—will always remain, and free scope for their development should be provided; but this inequality should not corrode and eat up the Personality

and Self-respect of man. As long as man is assured of man's rights, he is prepared to co-operate with other sections. The inequality does not rub against him; but when he finds that he is accorded a dog's treatment—that the rights of man are not for him—then he loses respect for Law, and attaches no importance to Order, and wants to plunge the society along with himself into the ever-widening abyss of Chaos.

The people who have been in the war or who have felt the pulsations of the New Life are not the people who can be compelled to travel back or remain stay put. They have seen the naked life with its tinsel trappings off. So in the post-war construction, they must be made to play their part as they cannot be kept out. Without friction, without heat; they should be absorbed and made to render their quota. If they are ignored and cast aside, Life will jog on only when they are forced underground or annihilated. This should never be the aim of planners and thinkers.

To understand the part which the reconci-

liation of interests shall play ; it is necessary to realise the effectiveness of self-interest in the motivation of man. In all our big and small moves, there is a thick or thin strand of self-interest. Even the spiritual activities of man have in them a big chunk of self-interest ! The first person singular pronoun is the root from which all off-shoots in the man's life spring up : All his activities are thickly coated and surcharged with this 'I'.

Various efforts have been made to eliminate 'I'—at any rate, weaken it ; but none has succeeded. It exists and persists and grows. All religions taboo self-interest, praise altruistic tendencies—in most of these tendencies 'I' is intermingled in varying proportions—and yet they have not succeeded. But there is a change which a trained eye can notice dimly. This war is shifting the 'I' from the narrow, personal zone of an individual to the wider, impersonal zone of a group, and it may ultimately coincide with the limits of the world as it is known to us to-day.

In this ever-widening sphere of 'I', the

need for securing the mutuality of interests—very divergent and big and little and ever-growing interests—is not only obvious but prime. In case the human race fails in making the right adjustment, wars galore—1 to the nth series—will destroy the race itself.

Mutuality of interests shall be based on Equality in the distribution of the raw materials of the world. It shall not be the monopoly of this or that country to take away the lion's share, and leave only a little for others. Once the distribution is made on equitable lines, each country shall be free to utilise its share in whichever manner it likes. The organisation, ability, and efficiency of the different types of people being not the same, differences in the standards of living shall arise.

To correct these differences by pulling up weak countries or by excluding them will be the work of the Groups. Thus Groups on account of their internal cohesion, and external alignments with other groups will ultimately make the world-merger a possibility. This may be a dream to-day, but it shall be a reality

to-morrow if the human race is to exist and to grow. Thus divergent interests will be harmoniously adjusted.

Self-determination is a good principle, but it is more or less utopian. Unless it is clarified, the various issues analysed; it is rather difficult to understand what it connotes. What exactly the term means? What is the machinery for determining the rights of the individuals among themselves; for the linking of the people with the State; for the interlinking of the various States which form the group; and for the integration of the various groups to evolve and develop the World Unit? These questions have to be answered in clear terms, and all ambiguity and *camouflaging* must be clean cut out. Thus alone we may be able to evolve order out of the growing confusion.

Whatever self-determination may mean, it cannot certainly mean the right to determine one's self. That is the straight, broad way to Anarchy. Just as in the case of individuals, there is the link between liberty and restraint—more liberty, more restraint; so also

in the case of the State. A powerful, free State carries on its back a much bigger load of Restraint—checks freely imposed upon itself, than is done by a weak not-so-free State.

In the alignments of the States with each other, the rights of the States shall have to undergo considerable modifications in order to evolve and develop the groups. Again, in the merger of groups with a view to usher in the World Order, the rights of the groups shall have to be modified and fitted in.

Thus we see that self-determination seemingly gives an idea of the perfect right to determine one's own self, yet in reality it means *adjustment of your rights with the rights of the others*. It is the principle of Live Along With the Others which, in other words, mean, Do to others as you would like to be done by them.

The rights of the individuals *qua* individuals shall be the same. They shall not be differential varying with caste, color, money, position, or any fooleries discovered by man. But shall they transcend the rights of the State?

or the rights of the State be supreme? This question is being thrashed out by the World War No. 2.

The individual has certain duties towards the State, and the State has also its duties towards the individual. The question of the supremacy of the one over the other is a vague question. Some say the State exists for the people, and the others say that the people exist for the State. The truth is that both exist for each other. *The people and the State are complementary*: The clash between the individual and the State cannot arise if the people aim at strengthening the State, and the State aims at the betterment of the people.

Just as individuals of their own accord give up their rights in order to maintain harmony amongst the people they live, and the people in their turn do likewise; so also adjustments between the people and the State take place. The principle of Give and Take smoothes away most of the difficulties. The trouble only starts brewing when one or the other becomes too assertive. If the State

squeezes the people and takes unto itself all their rights and privileges, we call it the totalitarian state. And if the people beat down the State, and usurp all its powers; then it is a revolution which may bring out any of the types of the Government with which the world is familiar. Its range is from Democracy to Communism.

Combination among the totalitarian States or among the States holding a mixed ideology like that of the Allies is easily facilitated. But combination between the sharply differentiated groups like the Allies and the Axis is not possible. That is why in this war there is no room for compromise. One must be eaten up by the other. It is a war to the finish: No quarters asked and no quarters given. This war, therefore, demands unconditional surrender.

After the States are evolved, they shall have to align themselves with the others in order to form Groups. In the exercise of choice; various factors like Race, Color, Mental outlook, Tradition, Culture, etc. will

have to be taken into consideration. There must be basic and derivative affinities before the Groups can be born.

Amongst the Groups, there would be horizontal combinations—certainly never vertical combinations, and they would be exactly on Group lines. Thus the world will acquire the notion of a World Unit based on Man.

Take a concrete example. India, China, Russia on account of Geographical and Historical and Chronological and Anthropological factors shall evolve a Federal Group in Asia ; and in Europe : Great Britain, France, Scandinavia, Netherlands, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and the Balkans shall evolve a group which will join the New Continent group. And then there would be the horizontal combination between the Asia Group and the Europe cum New Continent group.

In this planning ; Japan, Germany, and Italy are out of the picture for the simple reason that their Destiny is in the melting pot—in a state of flux.

The big continent of Africa—the Dark

continent—is out of the focus, because its destiny is an indeterminate factor to-day. Everything about it depends on the view which prevails when the war is over. If it is the old, fossil, played-out Re-construction; then Africa will be parcelled out among the mighties of Europe and it will be bled white. Its destiny will be to provide *Lebensraum* to the Luxury mad, Power drunk people of the West. Thus the Dark continent will create dark problems for mankind, and pave the way for War No. 3.

But if it is M.P.—Construction, then the Asia cum Europeo-American Group will give Africa to Africans and not to Afri Kanders (the Boer). Thus new Africa will rise out of its ashes and soar upward, and form a mighty link joining the Asia and Europeo-American groups. It is the destiny of Africa to play the important role of a hyphen between Asia and Europeo-America. I repeat that Africa can play this useful part only if it is not shackled. A dying, decomposing, stinking Africa will emit such a foul, poisonous smell that Asia,

Europe, and America will get smothered and asphixiated.

The small countries which are kept out in this discussion shall not play any important rôle in the post-war world. Their days are over, and they must learn to adapt themselves to the new changes which the new world will usher in.

CHAPTER III

POLITICO-ECONOMIC BASIS

"Democracy without education is the rule of knaves over fools, and Economists are blockheads who make financial plasters to stop the running sores of the body politics."

This is the most important item in the Post-war Construction plan, and it shall considerably help the people if the issues are put before them in clear terms—free from ambiguity and manipulations. This is a domain where there is no room for mysticism or spirituality. Hard facts and correct figures, if they are realistically interpreted, pay their way.

There is much truth in the materialistic conception of Life ; and, under the cloak of spiritualism or soul-force, it cannot be brushed aside. It has to be studied, taken stock of, and solved specially when life is jolted out of

its old bed. It is innate in life to have wants, and these wants increase at such a fast pace that poor man cannot successfully cope with them. Most wants go unsatisfied.

In the period of transition and in the new order that will come, more new wants will spring up due to changed conditions, and the increased tempo of Life. Man will be able to cope with the increased demand only if more wealth and more services are produced. Mere increase in currency does not create more wealth and services. The only hopeful signs are that there is inexhaustible wealth in our waters and air which has not been tapped, the existing utilisation of our land has been superficial and small, the pace of industrialisation has been slow, and the efficiency of the people has not been developed.

Before the country could set itself in order; it was subjected to ever-increasing, innumerable political theories—most of them unsound and rotten to the core. This country has a peculiar position of its own. Enmeshed in the Economic morass, it finds itself sand-

wiched between Religion and Politics. In point of fact, religion charges and re-charges every activity of Man—big or small.

All brands of religion prevail in this country, and naturally all political organisations are branded with their own god. This has made union difficult. Useless and effete values are stressed, and the essential values are ignored with the result that one, taking a detached view of this country, notices disorganisation and weakness in every activity of man.

For centuries Indians have been subjected to the God-dope, and the quantity and frequency of the dope has been considerably increased in the XXth Century. The people move, grow, and die in a dazed condition; because of the poison they carry in their system. They are capable of developing a pin-point fanaticism, but they break-down when subjected to any sustained strain.

For the foreigner to intervene, in what is considered a *Purdah* (veiled) affair of the country, is to invite trouble, and so he naturally

keeps himself aloof. But as this (religion) is intermingled with Politics, he has to butt in, and he gets baffled. He cannot solve anything, and only succeeds in intensifying confusion, and embittering the already strained feelings.

Thus the main basis—the Economic basis—on which Life is to run, and on which Life itself depends is clean ignored. The space it gets and the consideration it receives are not commensurate with the importance of the subject.

But one thing is clear that after the war is over, the country may prefer committing Economic *Harakiri*—Preferring Soul-Power to Hydel Power, Going Back to Nature, Lowering its Standard of Living, Developing Cottage Industries at the cost of Factory Industries, Intensifying non-economic activities, and Sidetracking people from the affairs of this world to the nebulous, imaginary problems of the imaginary other life; but not Political *Harakiri*. Every child of the soil demands freedom of the country, and some of the bold thinkers of

and in this country shall not hesitate in throwing overboard God or any other article which bars the way to the country's freedom.

They demand freedom. They do not beg for it. They do not think that the ever-merciless or ever-merciful non-human or human agency will lump up Freedom and throw it into their lap. And if they don't succeed, they will re-orientate their policy and convert this country into the biggest cemetery that the world has ever seen. The stink that the decomposing, fermenting, and dying four hundred million people will throw out will so foul the air that people in other parts of the world will gasp for breath, asphixiate, and die.

The above is not written in a swaggering spirit. It simply makes an attempt to express the growing will of the people. It is a shame, and a damnable shame, that this sub-continent teeming with a little less than half-a-billion humanity, rich in resources should be denied the right to manage and run its show. This right India has decided to take *unilaterally*.

There cannot be any room for this very

vital issue in the Re-construction program, but in the Construction program it shall easily and naturally get the first place. This is the only justification for the appearance of this book. It is a corrective of the wrong out-look. It is also a creative of new ideas.

Politics in this country is of two varieties: Domestic and International. Domestic politics concerns the behaviour and mannerisms of the foreigners particularly Britishers in this country. Other foreigners do keep in view that they are not the rulers of this country, but the Britishers generally keep two sets of behaviours—one for the West of Aden and the other East of Aden. The latter is of such a despicable variety that it not only debases the man who practises it, but it dehumanises the man upon whom it is practised. And the only way to cut out dehumanisation is to adopt the principle of “slap first, and argue next”—show utter disregard to the clauses in the I. P. C. (Indian Penal Code). Further, it makes Englishmen cheap in the eyes of well-bred, courteous Indians who prize good manners

above everything else. This country believes implicitly in "manners maketh man," and it is of such great importance that a few real incidents are given in Appendix A.

Apropos the above, I quote from my book "The Commercial Policy of the Moguls" the following: "The Britishers must learn the great utility of good manners in Asiatic politics. Outlandish manners forcibly introduced leave behind wounds which heal with difficulty in tropical countries." Lakhs of Indians have gone to Europe. They get familiar with the vices and virtues of Englishmen in their country, and they cannot understand why an Englishman takes so much trouble to maintain an artificial, awry pose in this country which smears them with ridicule, and embitters feelings. *India refuses to go back to Mai-Bap (Mother-Father) stage.* Englishmen in this country must learn this lesson.

International politics concerns only a few intellectuals as the bulk of the people have no grasp of problems beyond their range. Their politics is the politics of the country un-

connected with the rest of the world. One might say that both types of Politics are solely concerned with Great Britain, and there is no denying the fact that all weapons—violence and non-violence—are right if they are utilised for toppling down “the Satanic Government” of this country. Nobody worries himself if the mythical and unscientific weapons land us in a series of “Himalayan Blunders.”

But there is no denying the fact that under the existing conditions, there is considerable room for ameliorating the conditions of the people by raising the standard of Domestic Politics. When will the Englishmen in India learn that the days of *Burra Sahebs* are gone for ever?—never to return. The equality of man to man has come to stay.

The Englishmen must form their opinion by contacting with the right type of Indian people, and never from their menial staff. It would be an eye-opener to Englishmen if they could learn the honest opinion of their staff about their behaviour, manners, and morality.

One question to the Englishmen—How

will they like if an Indian forms an opinion of them from his experiences in Night Clubs, Private mixed parties, and his associations—rather too personal, too intimate, but not private—with girls who are free with their favours on terms which delight and shock? A party thrown in, a pillion ride, a show, a meal, a scarf, or a mere nothing, or a little money—any of the above if well manipulated will secure *entente Cordiale!*

We do not do it. We still esteem a good Englishman or woman. We pay him or her more than the proper dues. If this were to be construed as the price we pay for being ruled over, then where is the room for compromise? We must push on till we push them out. And there is no D. I. R. or D. O. R. A. which can control unexpressed opinions one holds.

Apropos the D. I. R., the following note written by me will be found interesting—may be also instructive: From "*The New Age*" dated 20th July, 1943:

"The D. I. R.—less charming than her sister D. O. R. A.—is growing into a wicked

girl. She must be 'broken' and controlled. Her vamping tactics must be studiously resisted. In the hands of some, she may play more havoc with the normal life of men, who may be forced to 'unfrock' her. Challenged in the Law Courts, ousted from decent society, shunned by respectable people; she still reigns supreme in this country of all lost causes."

Very few politicians take the trouble of explaining the economic repercussions of Freedom. They think that freedom will automatically bring in its trail an economic millineum—that the moment the country gets free, rivers of milk and honey will start flowing perennially lengthwise, breadthwise and cross-wise thro' out this vast country.

Maybe they don't think like that, but they certainly act like that. And it may be for the votes they want to gather! (The blighter who started this cursed voting system shall remain in the lowest Hell for all time in Infinity as he has blighted human life. This thrice-cursed system puts a premium on the out-side of a head, and utterly ignores what is inside it.)

An honest politician—rather a mythical being—must tell people in clear terms that taking freedom and Maintaining freedom are the two aspects of the same question—Freedom. Freedom would necessarily mean more restraints, and more burden. Unlicensed freedom is the negation of freedom.

The raising of the military strength to a crore of the standing army, the development of inland water transport, the writing off of the accumulated indebtedness of the peasants—to take only three items of Post-Freedom Program out of the many—would require from the first day of our freedom a six times increase in the income of the Central Government, and a fifteen hundred crores block grant (non-recurring). Probably the burden shall be spread over three generations, and the reward will be for the benefit of the people who will come after them.

In the post-war Economic Planning on the basis of Construction and not Re-construction, the first item will be Man. Man shall have to tighten his belt, control the number

of incoming unwanted mouths, raise his efficiency, and get into organised, disciplined groups. All these and a few more, he will do only if he is given the rights of man—not the rights of serfs and slaves. He must be made to feel that his work is his own, his soil is his, and his earnings he would enjoy subject to his duties to other men; and the deductions from his income would be for enabling the State to protect and to equitably distribute the advantages to all the people who prefer to be under a central organisation called the State. The paramountcy of the State will never be to remain paramount and to govern, but to be resilient and governed by the people.

The second item will be the Better Utilisation of our resources. To-day, we raise bad stuff at the highest cost. This might be taken as our special feature. The soil is starved, the cattle is starved, and the man is starved—these are responsible for the extremely low yield per acre and the poor quality of our yield. If we cannot put up a better record within a stipulated period, then we shall not get an

equitable share in the resources of the world. Because there might be a little bit coming our way if we can properly utilise it, but certainly not for waste.

The third item would relate to the development and co-ordination of the various modes of Transport. Inland water transport and air transport will receive special attention. The former for moving high-volume, low-price goods for which time is not an important factor; and the latter for moving low-volume, high-price goods for which time is an important factor. In developing air transport, its military utility will never be lost sight of. Its striking and defending capabilities will be kept in view.

The fourth item would relate to Industrialisation. This War No. 2 has shown to us our deficiency in normal goods—goods which one requires everyday in one's life; and also our utter inadequacy in war goods—goods which are required by the Military for the maintenance, equipment, movement, and fighting of the army. It has also revealed to us our

shortness in chemicals and dyes. All these and a few more shall have to be basically made good by giving the first place in our building program to the Manufacture of Machines which includes the construction of rolling stock and machines of all types and sizes.

Agricultural machinery; Industrial machinery; War Equipments including Tanks, Bombers, Rifles, Guns, etc.; Automobiles, Steamers; Rolling stock, etc., have to be constructed by the country in order to make the country secure and maintain the position which the country covets.

The ideal for India, giving the first, the very first place to Man, is to move our improved farm produce into our factories at the lowest cost where they would be converted into finished goods, and thus made available to consumers both in and out of the country.

India is very ambitious. Her first line is to make the country self-sufficient, and the second line is to build up a strong export market. The immensity of the problem pales into insignificance before her vast and growing

resources and the will of the four hundred million people.

Running thro' these four items length-wise or breadth-wise, one shall notice strong strands of Finance joining these or those loose ends and imparting strength to the warps and woofs of the new pattern which India is anxious to weave "At the whirring loom of Time." Finance as a servant of the Industries has a great meaning, but as a master she makes their growth puny and weak. It is not finance which creates industries, but industries—Man's work upon Nature—which create finance.

The productive enterprise of man and the vast, untapped resources of Nature should not be made to dance attendance upon Money. Only link the two, and the resultant is Money. Productive work during its course of work creates additional wealth, and this additional wealth shall be further utilised for creating more wealth. This way the progress lies. Economists are familiar with the sterility and fecundity of money. The above is a plan for

maximising its fecundity by destroying its sterility. And if to the above is added a conscious plan of improving the Efficiency of Man and the resources of Nature, then there is no limit to the production of man. It shall have to be measured in astronomical figures.

But the above is beyond the capacity of the played-out, effete, Sinks of money called Banks. It is also beyond the wooden brains of the Governments whose imagination boggles at the colossal changes which are sweeping over man—their swiftness, their vastness, their suddenness get their goat.

Therefore, Abolish the Sinks, and Stamp out the wooden mentality. And in their place, let the new vision take its place which showeth without any dimness or blurring that Productive Work needs no finance to finance it. *It Finances Itself.*

In a country like India placed as she is to-day, it is difficult for one to say where Politics ends and Economics begins. If two circles are drawn representing these two subjects, and they are permitted to rotate on differ-

ent orbits; they shall, during their course of rotation, come closer to each other, contact, and cut each other. I sometimes visualise them as two parallel lines; and yet I admit that in my mental plane I see them converging, contacting, and cutting each other in so many places.

A mathematician will say the above is an instance of wrong foci or incorrect integration, but who cares for his views in a country of Inexactitudes and Hyperbolic figures? After all, a mathematician is a good man lost to humanity. One is tempted to put Q. E. D. after this inspired statement.

Granting the right to plan, India shall stabilise its agriculture first, and then shall expand it on the American lines. It shall obtain from one acre just the same quality and quantity which America, Canada, Japan and other countries obtain. There is nothing wrong with our cultivators. Only they are starved and illiterate. But they counterbalance these handicaps by their perseverance, frugal life, and centuries of accumulated experience

which they have inherited.

The State shall encourage consolidation of holdings, and penalise the cultivation of any plot of land below five acres. It shall also encourage the maintenance of a healthy balance between money and food crops.

Transport being developed and co-ordinated shall move the money crops from the farms to the factories where they shall be converted into finished products, and these will be moved into those areas where there is a demand for those manufactured products.

The development of heavy industries will furnish factories with all their machines, accessories and equipment. Hydel Power for the development of which excellent conditions exist in this country along with coal shall run our machinery. Our labor in double or treble shifts will pull their full weight by acknowledging their loyalty to the Industries which feed them. Our transport will move persons and goods efficiently, and at a low cost. Thus thro' the length and breadth and cross-wise of this country rivers of "honey and milk"

will flow perennially like our Ganges, Jumna, and Cauvery.

Don't cut across my dream by shouting "What of money?" Money for productive enterprises is a superfluity. Given the will and any productive project, the lubricant—money—automatically oozes out. For India, given the hundred per cent backing of the State and the people—a ten thousand crores credit ought not to be a staggering, astronomical figure.

APPENDIX A

A FEW INSTANCES OF DOMESTIC POLITICS

All True Events

<i>Year</i>	<i>Man's Initial</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Event</i>
1914	T	Naini-Tal	Refused to see a darkie.
1915	W	Bhimtal	Strongly objected to Indians occupying the Dak Bungalow.
1919	(Not known.)	Cawnpore	Would not permit entry into the First class <i>coupe</i> tho' the Englishman was the sole occupant.

Year	Man's Initial	Place	Event
1923	C	Almora	Considered <i>infra dig</i> to offer chair.
1929	W	Lucknow	Dogmatically declared that a few Jalianwala Baghs would solve all the problems of India. Cooly countered by the suggestion of a few Memorial wells.
1943	D	Almora	For shifting the chair pitched at a distance of two yards and bringing it nearer, the first greeting took the form of "Are you deaf?"

N.B.—These half a dozen out of a score of events in my life of half-a-century amply illustrate the above point.

And what chuckles they provide to me. I only hope that they also get the same pleasure as I have derived from these incidents. But it is only possible if your 'tit' is at least at fifty per cent. premium on 'tat'.

A large number of people basing their life on the principle of Christ carry scars thro' out their life. They nurse the scars, and the racial relations are embittered.

My advice is "Settle the account then and

there : Don't carry it forward. Or let the scars be rubbed off by the consciousness that you are a coward." The latter will give more elbow-room to these God-damn people. I quote Voltaire: "The cowardice of the honest people ensures the success of the scoundrels."

APPENDIX B

LABOR

The rights of labor are two-fold : one, to feel freedom as a laborer ; and the other, to have work supplied to him. The first has been fused with the national urge in this country, while in other free countries it is a part and parcel of their existence. They have it.

The latter has been recognised in full in the Soviet Republic,¹ and some of the western countries are also recognising it in a haphazard and half-hearted manner. Else it is difficult to explain the doles they dole out.

¹ Russia has not only recognised this right of labor, but has gone a step further. It has recognised the right of old men to live. A charge on the Nation is made, and earmarked for them.

In India, this question has not received any attention so far probably the State or people find the problem too difficult and too complex. In post-war Construction, this aspect of labor's right shall come to the forefront and shall have to be tackled. It cannot be shelved. It may be ignored if Re-construction blurs the vision ; but then it will be the triumph of Darkness over Light, and not of Re-construction over Construction. The former lowers equity, the latter enhances it.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS

*"The ways of shining Heaven are far ;
Turn thee ! ab ! turn to things yet near ;
Turn to thy earthly home, O friend ;
And try to do thy duty here." (Omi-o-Kura)*

It is clear, therefore, that if the New Order were to raise its magnificent structure higher than the highest spire of to-day, then it must have for its foundation—Man. Any other base will make the building awry, and it is sure to topple down. Building upon man will necessitate keeping his body and mind in view.

Thus, if the differential needs of man—keeping up his body in a healthy condition and developing thought—are rightly tackled, there is no reason to assume that his Personality will not develop. A healthy Society is its

cradle. A well-known writer on the subject expresses the above in his own beautiful way when he says that Environment is the candle and Personality is the match. Both together produce the light which lightens the worlds.

Once the personality is evolved, it would be easy to ingrain self-respect in the man. Thus should be secured the finest and the strongest foundation for the building up of the New Order. There is no other way.

But in ingraining self-respect and developing personality; a right, true program should be put before the people by those who are the custodians of the honour of man. They should not side-track man with a view to gobble him up. They should be honest, man-fearing men—free from intellectual chicanery and smugness, and also of the art of *finesse*. In any right program, there will not be much room for sob-stuff and God. The awl of hard sharpened Reason shall be pushed relentlessly and at top pressure from the apex of the human pyramid down to the base perforating and

'leavening' the various strata which compose the human society.

Thus man before he comes unto his kingdom shall pass through a period of training, tribulation, and 'tempering.' The planners of to-morrow attach no importance to number, to "God in the poor," to the weight of History because they clean cut out the votes of the people who "vote with their feet" as Lenin puts in. They have realised the tragedy inherent in number; they cannot understand the idiotic act of the foolish camel trying to pass through the eye of a needle—if God is All-Powerful, How has He permitted Poverty to stalk into this world of His creation? and amongst the men of His creation?—and they have felt the sinking due to the weight of the *loot* of the Past. They wipe out these, and aim at starting new and fresh in the task of building. They abhor building upon the unthinking persons who have no personality and no respect for their person—the mob. After all, they have seen that a mob is like the mud on which a few lilies—the intellectuals,

the He-men—precariously float.

Therefore, man upon whom the building will be laid shall be subjected to intensive training to fit him for the New Order. He shall be made to suffer and sacrifice, and then hammered on the anvil of Life. The ore shall be 'prepared'; broken or crushed into pieces; and subjected to considerable heat; and then 'tempered.' Thus the right steel, true steel is obtained.

Man is not preparing the New Order for himself, *but for those who are unborn*. His is the pleasure, the satisfaction to do the spade work—to collect the materials, to arrange a layer or two. Others after him will pick up the spade, where he left it, when he departed from this world, and carry on this work of love. Generations after generations will be engaged in this labor of love till the mighty tower of Man's building scrapes the sky, goes through it right up to "Back of Beyond."

Children born after the building is completed shall in reverence and humility bow their head to those who labored so that they

may enjoy. That is the reward—the greatest reward—those shall receive who saw the vision and tried to capture their vision in Man's Monumental Building. Place of Location—this world; this *terra firma*; this sweet, darling earth of ours.

Those who have not seen the vision, those who have no faith in any selfless act (essentially after cash returns) should keep themselves strictly aloof because they can neither understand nor appreciate the free labor of love—the song of the nightingale. But the tragedy (and a great tragedy) is that they shall not keep themselves aloof, they shall butt in, and occupy the space which the builders of to-morrow require to-day.

Thus clash, clashes galore shall obstruct the construction work, and Man's energy will be wasted in settling these clashes: The work of destruction shall get priority over the work of construction. But what can be done? It may be that in the womb of the Future, there is the Death-warrant of Man.

Man to-day stands at the bifurcation of

roads. One leads to clashes—wars, still more wars, and unending wars, as there is no finality in and about wars. They are decidedly precursors of other wars. At the end of this road, there is the Man's tomb on which the epitaph is of one word "FINIS." The other road leads to co-operation on the basis of free labor and love, and at the end of the road is the magnificent Man's Monumental Building.

Man is taking more and more to the wrong road, and those who have seen the vision make efforts to switch on Man to the right road. Their whisperings may grow into a big roar which even the resurrected dead may be able to hear or they may die out and not be audible even to the living. The former is the road of Annihilation and the latter is the road of Salvation. Those who have eyes can read the names in the Road Boards.

In clear terms, with no ambiguity and no camouflage, Man shall be told:

- I. to cut himself aloof from the other world,
- II. to develop his efficiency,

- III. to discipline himself,
- IV. to cor-relate mouths with the availability of wealth,
- V. to look for satisfaction in the group welfare rather than on his Bank balance, and
- VI. to annihilate fossil, stupid, illogical barriers created by man in the past to divide man.

And for these burdens that he willingly takes upon himself, he shall get the rights of Man, and he also will have that subtle satisfaction hard to express in dirty money, namely, that he is contributing his quota towards that Building of which a few dream to-day, but which will be a *Fait accompli* to-morrow.

Now take up these items serially. The first relates to the deep feeling about the affairs of the other world without there being any surety of the very existence of the other world. A large amount of time, energy and money is thus needlessly frittered away. The same could have been better utilised for bettering this earth of ours.

The more one builds upon the mythical future, the more indifferent he gets about his probable future here. This depressant must be removed *at all cost*. And it can be removed by Force or by Persuasion. The use of Force in such a noble cause is fully justified.

If, however, persuasion is decided upon, then literacy rate should be pushed up, and the same combined with Propaganda. I suggest a judicious use of Force and Persuasion. In order to develop efficiency, man should be given an irresistible bait. He should be told that his lien on the world resources which include the resources of his own country shall be distributed in proportion to the Efficiency (E) of the country. If his country has an $E \frac{4}{10}$ and G. B., $\frac{6}{10}$, then his country shall have a lien on four units, while G. B. shall get six units, and so on. Once this lesson is forced upon, he shall not easily forget it. The scheme of Rationalisation shall receive Man's warmest co-operation.

Life without discipline is the negation of life. The maximisation of indiscipline has

thrown the world into a boiling cauldron, and all people are getting burnt. But discipline to be effective must be enforced from within, and not from without. If the human race has reached the adult stage, and if it is not in the crawling infant stage, or if it has not reached the senile stage; there is no reason why Man should not, of his own will, be made to pull up, and stand four-square to all the winds that blow.

His *ad nauseam* whining for lack of opportunities has no meaning, because opportunities vary directly with the will and ability to use them. *They get created.*

Now, we come to the crux of the problem. No amount of planning can improve the lot of man unless he stops the typhoon of children. Unwanted mouths ushered into this world at an astronomical progression are bound to disturb the finely poised Economic balance. They not only clamour for food, but also for space; and space is getting thinner and thinner on account of the ever-increasing 'net increase'.

If no consideration is paid to the above and the balance is disturbed, Nature shall restore the balance by causing large-scale epidemics, or by playing its mad pranks of floods, earthquakes, or by starting wars. This waiting for and upon Nature to correct our mistakes is not worthy of Man particularly as Nature is clumsy and, according to our notions of facts and figures, whimsical. No doubt she is accustomed to playing in infinity, dealing with trillions, and for her, time is an unimportant factor; while we are creatures of Space-Time, affected by Causality, and always in a state of Flux.

Or

We ourselves go in for child-farming—the principle that we apply to animals. If I discuss it at length, and say something upon the commercial utilisation of dead men, there would be large number of people who would get physical and mental nausea. I cut out this 'foal' discussion in order to pay my homage to sentiment, but I raise three questions for the present generation to think upon, and not to

answer them because they cannot be answered.

How many people have thought of wars as based upon child-farms? Millions of new born babes: property of Foundling Homes—essentially street or lane products: are brought up from the cradle to feed the Cannon—*cannonen futer*. And what about those 'diseased' millions who come into this earth with blood full of 'deadly' germs? Their rich inheritance in the foul deeds of their parents. Pulsating with life, but denied life—the cancerous, the paralytic, the maimed, the blind, the tuberculous: blood surcharged with venereal germs—Have they no remedy against the criminal follies of their parents? the idiotic vapourings of the people? and the smug complacency of the State?

What about millions who are born healthy, but cannot remain healthy on account of lack of sustenance? Is the father or mother not guilty in producing a child whom he or she cannot feed?

My advice is to lift up the taboo on sex. Life being sex; everybody has a right to Sex

education, Sex hygiene, and Sex respect. There is nothing impure about sex, and there is no religion about sex. By making a fetish of Sex, we have enshrouded it in mystery. By all means, make it clean and respectable by freeing it from false notions and prejudices of the people.

The problem of satisfaction is the problem for the individuals. If they have disciplined life, nothing will go wrong. But don't make a virtue of Mahatmic Self-control. Repression is no panacea as it warps the mind and canalises the urge into wrong channels. And sublimation up to the nth extent will only be possible if life is visualised as one big lump of clay.

Preventive checks at certain times are good. They are homely, and they help us in solving the problems with which we are concerned in this world.

Here then we have our specific program to cor-relate mouths with food and space: the "unfits" should really be made unfit by sterilisation, the poor should be made to go in for preventive checks, and 'the criminals' should

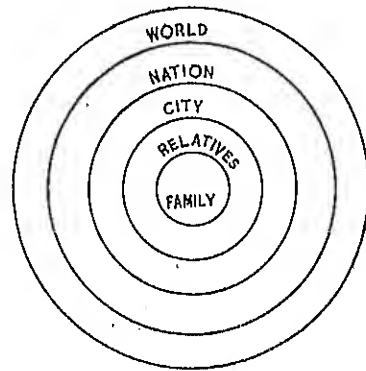
be either 'reclaimed' or annihilated. A bold program, and it should be boldly executed.

The Bank balance is no criterion of a life well and truly lived. It is an index of the hoarding instinct in man twisted to serve the individual needs at the cost of social needs. An upper limit beyond which the Banks will not be permitted to take in deposits would be an effective instrument in partially solving the problem. If the man is made to understand that his happiness will come from the happiness of the group in which he lives, and has his being; then he will struggle for satisfying his needs and beyond that, he will return the surplus to the group of which he is a member.

As Man in the future shall not accept man's dominion over man, so he has to try and must try to remove all those barriers which man places on the path of forward movement. Essentially man's value resides in what he "is" and in not what he "has." The barriers due to birth, family, caste, color, etc.; and even the barriers which his own achievements create—barriers due to physique, money and brain—

have to be thrown overboard without a sigh or a pang in order to usher in the new era in which men will say "That man to man the wide world over, Are brothers for a that."

In all these changes, the planner must build upon the mind of man, for mind is the match which will kindle the candle (Environment). Thus the glow of Light will show things in proper perspective. Once he is shown the link between him and the world, he would never move back. I visualise human life as concentric. The inner-most circle is the Family; the larger, Relatives and Friends; next; the City; then, the Nation; and lastly, the World.



Thus from the Family, we evolve the State; and from the State, the World State. The World State presupposes a World Humanity, and the world humanity will only be a *Fait accompli* when man is a brother unto man in, not the biblical sense, but in its true, realistic sense.

CHAPTER V
EDUCATIONAL BASIS

"It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for war, but that no nation has ever yet produced money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace: poverty, lack of education, unemployment, ill-health. When we are prepared to spend our money and our efforts against them as freely and with the same spirit as against Hitler and when we pay our school masters at a much higher rate and lawyers perhaps at a somewhat lower rate, we shall really be making progress."—Lord Wavell.

Any right educational planning must aim at developing Thought. It should not stop at imparting knowledge. It should create an urge for gathering wisdom, and promoting understanding. Knowledge, wisdom and

understanding are the ascending steps in the ladder of Education.

Education cannot create faculties which are denied to man, but it can certainly develop to the highest pitch those faculties which Nature has bestowed upon him. And there would come a time when the process of right education will make man say unto himself, and to the world "I am."

Education is a mighty potent weapon for making man, shaping man, altering man. It cannot be a mechanical weapon as its most important work is in relation to that subtle, vital, human dynamo called Mind. It concerns itself with both body and mind, for the condition precedent to a healthy mind is a healthy body wherein it dwells.

A properly trained and disciplined mind is the man's safe hurricane-lantern in the jungle of Life—It is his sure and certain refuge when odds oppose him. With mind and body properly attuned, man is properly armed to meet his Fate.

Education by itself is a moral. It can be

made to serve any purpose—good or evil. It is Light; but it can be made to give more light, or extinguish the little we have. The former is the right education, the latter is the wrong education. Right education aims at the service of man; and in it, it seeks its own reward. Wrong education is the service of Self, and it seeks its reward in the loot of others. Between these two extremes, any shade of education for any purpose—good or bad—can be and is evolved.

This war has let loose forces which have to be analysed and taken stock of. The mammoth destruction has to be made good. The acceleration of the pace with which changes are taking place leaves no option but to put up the pace of education so that fast-changing conditions may be studied and adjusted by the rapidly changing educational system. There is nothing stay put in life as Life is change—Incessant and Persistent.

In the Post-war construction, Education shall play and ought to play a very important part. The existing educational machinery

concentrating upon imparting knowledge only shall be scrapped and melted as the new machinery will be made of an amalgam composed of correct knowledge, right wisdom and mutual understanding: Man working for the country, and working for the world do bring in changes which the anti-diluvian, wooden educational machinery of to-day cannot tackle.

The new Educational Machinery shall have a few fundamentals to build upon and they are :—

- A. Man's Realistic Approach to Man,
- B. Differential Education to suit Differential Needs,
- C. Simplification and Rationalisation of the Existing Cumbersome Machinery, and
- D. Cheapening of the Cost.

The educational planning in the New Order after the war will be a sort of picking up the best from each system, and thus evolving a new elastic machinery for training body and mind. If it were possible, there would be one universal language, through

which education would be imparted. It shall substitute world needs in place of national requirements in its educational curricula as different nations of to-day will merge into the world comity of people in the near future.

Man shall come unto his own, and therefore, he will demand that system of education which will level up, and makes no allowance for snobbery of any type and in any form. A free citizen of the world looking straight at others shall taboo wrong teaching which creates wrong consciousness.

In India, great havoc has been played by the wrong type of Education called Anglo-Indian or European education. Apart from creating wrong impression in the minds of the immature youths against the inhabitants of this vast sub-continent called India, these institutions have served no other purpose. The teaching is below par, and the cost is high. Though a charge on Indian revenue, they are under the special protection of the Governors. Mushroom institutions of yesterday, they are

supposed to be beyond the governing range of the Hon'ble the Ministers. I again repeat there is nothing special about their teaching except inculcating bitterness between one hundred per centum Indians and fifty per centum Indians. In most cases, staff is also not competent and all sorts of hocus-pocus is practised to keep out Indians. This exotic ring of hot-house education made to order to suit the exigencies of a microscopical minority brought into existence by the strange blending of the East and the West has no real *habitat* in this country. It must go. And if it were to be thrust upon the country, then it must finance itself and not be a charge upon the revenue of the country.

If Indians are competent to be in charge of Provincial education, and if Indians are competent to run their 'varsities, then I maintain that these Anglo-Indian and European Institutions must be brought under the control of Indians. The competency of Indians cannot be questioned. In every Indian University teaching staff, one can easily find scores of

Indians who have their Degrees and Doctorates from Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, Harvard, Yale, Paris, etc., and on a point of fact from all the 'Varsities under the sun. These are the educational centres by which the teachers in European schools swear by, but have never been to.

I am strongly of opinion that in the Post-war era, there shall not be any room for these institutions as they put barriers on the path of man's realistic approach to man. No amount of bolstering and special powers of the Governors shall keep them going. They are marked by Fate for liquidation and dissolution.

One flat level of education which ignores the differential needs has to be guarded against. Man's rights to 3 RS' is unquestioned; but beyond that, various factors have to be taken into consideration *e.g.* Mental approach and receptiveness, Body fitness, Environmental needs, etc. And also the method by which education should be imparted: We must be very clear on Nature and Method of Education.

The following plan will throw some light on the above:—

A. Compulsory and Free Primary Education should begin at the age of seven, and should be completed within four years: First year, education through play—Direct Method; and in the remaining three years, up to the sixth standard by double promotion. The hours of attendance up to this standard should not exceed three hours a day. This is possible to attain if a large number of subjects which have been unnecessarily tagged on are deleted, and the method of teaching is based upon Reason and not Cram.

Seventh up to eleventh standard—one year taken off the Intermediate and added to the existing Xth—promotion will be on the yearly basis. And there would be clear bifurcation of teaching in this period based on sex. Girls will have to study more and more of Domestic Economics and Hygiene, aesthetics, their *saga*, etc. Mathematics and Science will not receive that over-weightage as they do today. After all, these girls will have to run the

house, and man is concerned with providing the fund to keep the fires burning. And if they decide to study further in the 'Varsities, they can continue their studies on their own lines.

In boy's education, however, bifurcation will begin after the eleventh standard. During this period of study, it will be kept in view that the boy after he passes out from the eleventh may decide to join any vocational institute, or carry on his cultural pursuits. And he shall be so educated that if he decides to earn his livelihood and not to study further, he shall be quite competent to do so.

The 'Varsities will have three years Degree Course as they shall get one year of the Intermediate Class. They should in their own interest give up playing with numbers. A large number of students who join the 'Varsities has to be 'winnowed,' for most of them have neither the aptitude nor mental fitness nor finances to profit by 'Varsity education. If in the above manner, the educational pro-

gram is chalked out leaving enough of elasticity for changes and adjustments, it shall be an immense improvement upon the stay put education of to-day. At the end of this chapter in Appendix C, I draw up the chart which sums up the above points.

In the 'Varsities, three hours a day work with Saturday and Sunday off for Seminars, Farm work, outside reading, etc. ought to be enough. In order to best utilise the libraries, they shall remain open during non-working days and non-working hours. There is not much sense in keeping the libraries open when the classes are on.

The existing educational machinery is so complex and top-heavy that the teachers who have to do the real work of teaching find themselves jammed between their officers and committees galore. They are subjected to so many restrictions—Institutional, Committees, Rules and Regulations, Syllabus, Official, etc.,—that after a few years of service, they find that all their 'sparks' are extinguished and they have been turned into machines. The teaching

robot retains only one principle—all others are thrown to the wind—and that is the principle of "His Master's Voice." Nobody attaches any importance to their loss of individuality which kills their originality.

The Board of High School and Intermediate Education, D. P. I., A. D. P. I., Inspector of Schools, School Committee, Text Book Committee, Headmaster, etc., are all present to limit their work and destroy their initiativeness. And incidentally, they eat up a large portion of the money which ought to have gone to the real toilers—the teachers! This is a great tragedy, and must be set right specially as a large number of teachers are better qualified *in every way* than the *bosses* who are supposed to examine and inspect their work. Apropos this, I cite a very interesting case :

One mere M. A. of an Indian 'Varsity was examining the teaching work of an M. A., Ph. D. (Lond.) in an Intermediate College. The teacher had to his credit seven years' teaching experience in an University and three

years in the Intermediate College. And yet the farce must be carried on to bolster up the prestige of the Education Dept!

I must say that there is not any such farcical control in the 'Varsities. Teachers have plenty of air and space to grow and to expand their mental horizon, but they are in the deadly grip of "The Ogre of Vote."¹ Teaching suffers. But the 'Varsities should give up the growing malpractice of making appointments on S. W.—Starving Wage. Highly qualified teachers getting appointed on Rs. 150/- a month with Rs. 5/- a year increment considerably lowers the dignity of the 'Varsities, and also undermines the morale of the service. This must stop. If 'Varsities have no funds, they should not expand.

Any cheapening of the cost of education must not be aimed at by further starving the teaching robot. Apart from teaching, the teacher has a certain standard to keep. He must get a living wage, and he does not

¹ A chapter of the book "The 'Varsities" by the author and published by "Kitab-Mahal," Allahabad.

get it. That is why, mostly failures are in the service. And those who with high ideals and lofty vision enter into the service to mould the minds of the fathers and mothers of to-morrow, find to their dismay that they are themselves getting moulded and becoming mouldy. The transition from Man to Robot is swift and sure.

The top-heavy expenditure must be lopped off, and the army of clerks and Inspection staff be reduced to the minimum. Fancy ratio between the pay of a teacher who is M. A., B. Com., LL. B., etc., drawing Rs. 100/- a month and the D. P. I.—a mere M. A.—drawing Rs. 3,000/- a ratio of 1 to 30 must be corrected as it is illogical, arbitrary, and not fair. The parity between the two must be sought and secured. Along with this, make an effort to cut out the manipulations of the Text-Book Committee. Thus alone the cost of education will be lowered.

The set pattern of Education has to be altered in view of the shape of things to come. Most of the values with which we toyed in the

Past have to be put in the Exhibit room—a sort of a memoir of the Past. And in their place, we have to substitute values which will enable us to adjust Life to the colossal changes which are taking place so very rapidly. Merely amendments will not help us to carry on. A new 'Resolution' incorporating the New Order alone will guide us rightly.

Most of the educationalists and academicians have been thinking on this subject, and here is one more plan out of M. P.—my planning. Details need not worry us at this juncture. They can be filled in as needs arise. Only we be sure of the outline—clear and emphatic, but certainly not dogmatic. Thus alone, we provide elasticity in place of rigidity which is the marked feature of the educational system to-day.

APPENDIX C

	<i>Age</i>	<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Method</i>
Discipline from with- out.	7-8	Three hours	Education thro' Play.
	8-11	a day	Double Pro- motion
			Books, Talks, Illus- trations.
		Yearly Pro- motion.	

N.B.—* Bifurcation of Education on Sex basis. Five hours a day work.

Discipline from with- in.	16-19†	Yearly Pro- motion.	Library, Contacts, and Lec- tures.
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N.B.†—Bifurcation of Education: Vocational or Cultural.

Or

Students may not study further and take up jobs.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION BASIS

"Red tape is the symbol of the contempt of the officials for the living human being and his affairs." (Trotsky).

The three civil arms of the State to-day are Legislature, Judiciary and Executive. This is the Natural order, and there is nothing wrong with it. The will of the people functions through the Legislature. The judiciary interprets the laws passed by the Legislature, and the Executive carries out the wishes and the orders of the Judiciary. The gradations and the functions fit in well and truly.

But where the composition itself of these three institutions is faulty—this is an universal malady, and the order is reversed, that is to say, the Executive is superimposed upon the Legislature, and the Judiciary is retained for

not interpreting the Acts of the Legislature and hauling-up the Executive, but to meekly and submissively carry out the orders of the Executive; then the whole structure of Administration presents the look of a tilted, inverted pyramid. The latter is a special feature of India which combines with this feature a very large percentage of the former (faulty composition) as well.

The Legislature everywhere feeds and thrives upon votes, but they do not run down brains. They don't consider brains a superfluity. But there is no room for brains in the Indian Legislature. Like Nature, Indian Legislature is automatic and autonomous. It moves itself from within, it changes itself from within. Nature has no brains, so why should the Legislature? Very simple question, and very satisfying particularly for those who believe in "voting with their feet"—Peace be to Lenin's soul.

The Judiciary must be strong and free of external influences. This is the only way to create and retain confidence in the Judiciary.

A responsible Judiciary is a strong bulwark against the forces of disruption and anarchy. Where Judiciary can be bribed or influenced, Judiciary like the brain-less Legislature should be scrapped, and the Administration should be carried on by bayonets.

Executive's right and correct role is to execute orders—give effect to them. Its true position is at the bottom of the Administration Pyramid. It is under the control of the Legislature—indirect, and the Judiciary—direct. It is the servant of the people who exercise control over it through the Legislature.

The Judiciary though it comes next to the Legislature which occupies the apex, is in no way subordinate or subservient to the Legislature. It does not also take its orders from the people. In point of fact, it has a queer position. Its main work is interpretation of the existing laws, and also to see that its decisions bind both the Government and the people. Its one single limitation is that it cannot originate laws. This function is the monopoly of the Legislature.

At the top of the Administration pyramid in India in the Provinces are the Governors; and for the whole of British India cum Indian India, the Governor-General. The position they occupy and the powers they wield are hard to explain. By virtue of their position, they are the heads of the Executive branch of service. So naturally their weight is always thrown on the side of the Executive. And as these gentlemen have been given the powers of veto and certification—powers which are denied to His Majesty the king of Britain, they can over-ride the Legislature and the Judiciary; and thus the Executive gets a sort of priority over the Legislature and the Judiciary.

A little analysis will expose the hollowness of this "arrangement of convenience." A Province with a population of fifty million people sends up its representatives to the Houses or House. They voice the will of the people. If they pass any measure, it can be vetoed by the head of the Executive—the Governor; and if they reject any measure, it

can be revived by certification. This simply means that the opinion of one can swamp out the majority or unanimous opinion of the representatives of fifty millions. Similarly the opinion of the Governor-General can and does swamp out the majority or unanimous opinion of the representatives of the four hundred million people. A very illogical centralisation of power.

Moreover, the Governor-General has legislative powers as well. He can pass laws quite independently of the Legislature. Thus this country enjoys two legislative authorities. The net result is to lower the dignity of law in this country. It makes the Legislature an institution for the satisfaction of vanity and ambition, and for the furtherance of the interests of the members. It ceases to function as an effective arm. Either scrap this dummy show or take away the law-making powers of the first servant of the Crown in India.

Both making laws side by side adversely affect the position of the judiciary. The judi-

ciary being conscious of the law-making powers of the Executive swings towards it, leans upon it, and starts taking orders from it. *The interpretations of the judiciary do not bind the Executive in this country.* Is it any wonder then that people have very little respect for their judiciary? A judiciary which cannot assert its position has no business to exist.

What with the sham legislature, the effete judiciary; the Executive shoots up to the top position, and monopolises all the power. People realise that the Executive is everything, and others are merely appendages to lend fame and glory to the supreme in India—the Executive. This shooting up from the bottom to the top fouls the atmosphere, and makes people feel weak. It takes away respect for law, and for the interpreters of law. The country moves towards anarchy.

It might here be pointed out that Indian States being sovereign states are not under the control of the Central Government. But one simple formula invented by the late Lord Reading gives a lie to the above. The famous

formula is "Paramountcy Is Paramount." The Central Government being the paramount power does reserve unto itself the right to effectively interfere in the affairs of the States, but does not permit them even to open their lips when the caravan of the C. G. rolls on and over them.

The above gives a bird's-eye view of the system of Administration as it prevails in this country. Is there a man with a grain of common sense who can say that this will be the system after the war is over? Superficial 'touches,' 'erasions,' 'deepenings' here and there and 'coloring'; and the picture of the Pyramid is complete which will cope with the forces released in the New Order. In M. P. for the New Order, there is no room for the present "too-iron, too-wooden, too-inelastic, too-anti-diluvian" and, may I add, too-hotch-potch, too-topsy-turvy machinery. It should be broken—it is getting broken by the forces which are too strong for it—and melted, and utilised in the making of the new pyramid. Breathes there the man who does not say

"Amen" to the materialisation of the new aspirations?

In the Post-war Administration Pyramid, the Order shall be corrected. It will follow natural sequence and alignments. The apex will be the Legislature, the next will be the Judiciary independent of the former and of the Executive which will form the base of the Pyramid. Its main work will be the execution of the orders passed by the Judiciary. The Governors and Governor-General shall not enjoy the very arbitrary powers of 'Vetoing' and 'Certification.' "The Instrument of Instructions" will be the joint possession of the Governor and the Legislature with over-riding powers vested in the latter. If this is not agreed upon, then it is suggested that a convention be permitted to grow that "the Instrument" shall never be unsheathed, and hurled at the Legislature.

Demanding the right positions for the Legislature and the Judiciary, and the limitation of the powers of the Executive and the Governors and the Governor-General, one

must also demand considerable improvement in the formation of the Legislature and in the appointment of Judiciary, and stricter supervision of the people over the work of both. A new conception of what constitutes Crime, and an enlightened interpretation of the words of Law are the concomitants of the changes proposed. Without these, the New Order will not function.

In the New Order, the Legislature being in supreme charge of making laws, altering laws, amending laws, suspending laws, and deleting laws shall *Never Be Guilty of Breaking Laws*. Side by side with the making of the laws, it shall try its level best to secure maximum respect for Law. It shall be composed of trusted men of tried ability, and certainly not of men of "No Hall, Nowhere" and no learning. The two tests which a prospective member must satisfy are Honor and Ability, and not adherence to this or that Party. The Lungs power should be definitely ignored. It should be choked off.

How then is the Legislature to be formed?

Whatever the *modus operandi*, it should not be a product of "one nose, one vote." (I would not mind delegating the power to an All-India Board of one hundred members to form the Central as well as Provincial Legislatures provided they keep themselves out of the Legislatures. Their task is the task of selection. Once the Legislatures start functioning, the All-India Board is dissolved for I do not wish to retain any permanent supervising agency as this work shall be the work of the public and the press). Men getting into the legislatures shall be independent men, and not men whose body and soul are pledged to the Party Organisations.

Under the existing conditions in India, there is room for only one party—the People's Party—which shall function on the basis of India and for Indians. We must learn that the Economic Conditions operating in a given physical environment are the basis of all moral, judicial, and political manifestations of human—individual and social—life. Those who do not agree with the above are welcome to keep

themselves out, and let the experiment proceed. The results will convince them. The above changes will give the Legislature a definite position in the administration of the country. From a sham body, it will become an effective body in charge of the conscience of four hundred million people. It will realise its immense responsibility, and thus become Responsible.

After the above is achieved, the judiciary will have to be moulded and re-formed. But due allowance must be made for the errors of judgment; because whatever is done, the judiciary will be composed of men. It cannot have the exactitude of a machine. This point is very well discussed by Max Nordau in his book "Conventional Lies of our Civilization." He says, "It is true that if a machine administered the law, it would be carried out with mechanical exactness, without prejudice or partiality, but when a living human being undertakes the task, inequality is unavoidable; the most conscientious judge, armed at all points against external influence, is yet, unconsciously to himself, biassed by the personal

appearance, the voice, the intelligence, the cultivation, and the social position of the persons before him; and the point of the law wavers and turns from favour to severity in his hands, as the magnetic needle turned by the electric current."

Making allowance then for the unconscious human aberrations, the Judiciary will be composed of men judicially selected who will be expected to go behind the words of the law and interpret its spirit and not the words in the Dictionary sense. It should know that crime is an offence prescribed by law. It may or not be immoral. The circumstances leading to the commitment of an offence are of greater importance than the offence itself.

Enough of elasticity must be maintained in Law, because it has to tackle problems created by the ever-changing conditions. Therefore, *Law cannot remain changeless* specially when there is a big upheaval just like the one through which the world is passing. Take for example, the Civil Law which is entirely a class-institution. It is essentially individualis-

tic. It aims at the protection of the possessing class just as the law of libel protects the astute rogue.

Writing about the Criminal Court, Mr. Ernest Belfort Bax in his book "Religion of Socialism" says, ".....no judge can be strictly an honest man. The judge must necessarily be a man of inferior moral calibre. Because the aspiring member of the bar when he accepts a judgeship knows that in so doing he deliberately pledges himself to functions which may at any moment compel him to act against his conscience and wrong another man..... He may any day have to pass sentence on one whom he believes to be innocent.....he makes this surrender of humanity and honour for what? For filthy lucre and tawdry notoriety."

If the above views are given effect to, there is no reason why Judiciary should not be the most important arm of the State and the public.

Then there is the Executive whose composition and position have to be corrected. Men

imbued with the idea of service and properly trained should be recruited for this service. As these men come into daily contact with the public, their manners should be above reproach. The fetish for the I. C. S. should be abolished. No man can be an all round expert, and the I. C. S. people are also men. He is by no means a gifted man. He is a man of ordinary mental calibre, and ordinary bringing up. He should not arrogate to himself super-human powers even though he belongs to a highly bolstered and protected service. For him, I will quote the oft-quoted motto "Manners Maketh Man."

The position of the Executive, as has already been pointed out, is at the base. He should not exploit the unnatural conditions in this country, and upset the order. Irresponsible Judiciary coupled with the arbitrary authority of the Executive lets Hell loose in this world. This must be guarded against particularly in the period of change.

In the New Order, there will be a new machinery of Administration to adjust not.

only the life in the country, but also the external problems in relation to other countries with which we federate. A machinery based on the shifting foundation of Reconstruction will not work properly. When such vast changes are sweeping in the world, then the only course open to us is to build anew. All relations between man and man, man and woman, and man and State shall take on new forms and shapes; the extension of mental horizon to the farthest-most limits of this terrestrial earth—all these problems and very many more require from man the development of physico-psychical qualities which are latent in him to the uttermost extent possible.

The most important institution of Administration cannot but be most vitally affected by these gigantic changes. It shall have wider breadth, new alignments, and shall be of tried and trusted material. All these would be realised by constructing the new machinery of Administration; and not by tinkering with parts here and there, oiling, and giving new paints here and there. This is the basic idea

underlying the noxious term of Re-construction—a link with the dying Past.

I believe that the world has reached a point where it is wisdom to pay homage to Tomorrow and not to Yesterday as the Past is dead, and the Future is pulsating with life. The Past is the foe of mankind, the Future is our friend. In the Past is no hope; the Future is both hope and fruition. The Past is the text-book of tyrants; the Future, the Veda of the Free. "Those who are solely governed by the Past stand like Lot's wife, crystallised in the act of looking backward; and for ever incapable of looking before."

CHAPTER VII
UNEMPLOYMENT

*"There is a failure here that topples all our success :
The fertile earth and the ripe produce and
children dying of hunger....." In the souls
of the people, the grapes of wrath are filling
and growing heavy." ("The Grapes of
Wrath").*

Unemployment is the outcome of a disillusioned age, and of a country in transition. A country which has not planned for the change-over suffers from unemployment. In each country—as long as we retain these different slices of the world arbitrarily carved out—the cause or causes creating unemployment must be studied and tackled. These are not the same for all countries. And naturally the methods adopted to tackle them will be different.

A few examples will make the above clear. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland suffers from unemployment on account of its shrinking foreign markets. Being an industrial country, it goes on manufacturing in excess of the Home demand. For its surplus manufactured goods, there are no expanding foreign markets. India could have absorbed a major portion of its surplus, but due to the new wave of industrialisation in India, and also due to the growing political tension between the two countries, India switches on her demand for manufactured goods to other countries.

The U. S. A. suffers from unemployment, because of its piling up mountain high the gold of the world, and thus restricting the purchasing capacity of the other countries. Moreover, being a creditor country, it receives its dues from other countries. And they being short of gold, adjust their account with the U. S. A. by exporting goods or services or both. The streams of goods and services entering into the U. S. A. dry up the American

streams of production, and so unemployment rate goes up causing misery and trouble all round.

Unemployment is a necessary sequence of capitalistic regime; because under it, means of production are not socialised. They are owned, controlled, and run for the benefit of the few; and as they produce on mammoth scales, so they require wider and growing markets. But they cannot have those markets because of the self-sufficiency program of other countries.

In Russia, there is no unemployment. Because the instruments of production are nationalised. They are owned, managed and controlled by the State which is of the people, by the people and for the people. Further, Russian resources were not tapped in the past. The vast, rich resources of Russia have to be intensively utilised in order to enable it to successfully accomplish the change-over from the Agricultural to the Industrial stage.

In the totalitarian countries, there cannot be any unemployment because of their

militarisation. All other industries are treated as ancillary industries to the one great, major industry,—the Military Industry. The people are ordered to cut down their demands for goods in order to fatten Moloch. They are hypnotised in preferring guns to butter. Their whole range of duty is to work ceaselessly at high tension and to periodically tighten their belt. If the people protest, then they are silenced for ever.

In India, no serious effort has been made to collect data on unemployment, and to draw inferences therefrom. The subject of unemployment in India is a queer amalgam of Socio-Economic cum Political forces. Unless they are seriously considered, no right solution is possible.

One fact is sure and certain, and it is that there is good deal of unemployment in India—a large portion of this unemployment is masked and not visible to the public gaze. That portion of unemployment which concerns the Middle, educated class has attracted the attention of the Government and the public. It

may be that this class is very articulate and vociferous, and is more conscious of its rights.

Therefore, in studying the problem of unemployment in India, a clear cut differentiation between Masked and Unmasked Unemployment is necessary. To assume that Masked unemployment is no unemployment is a very wrong assumption.

MASKED UNEMPLOYMENT

In an agricultural country, there is more persistency in jobs which the cultivators take up. One does not see that swiftness which one notices in an Industrial Country with which labour is thrown out on the streets. Agricultural jobs are stay put jobs, while Industrial jobs are fluid.

If the crop fails, it does not mean that the cultivator quits, and moves the land with him. He sticks to the land, and starves, and prays for better times. If the Industry fails, the mill is closed, and the labour is out. Further, Industrial fluctuations are too many, and they have their repercussions on the labour employ-

ment. The number of labour employed may be increased or decreased; the strikes and lock-outs further affect the unemployment rate; the glut or scarcity of the commodity has an effect on labour employment; the Government interference and labour's international outlook—these and very many more make industrial jobs uncertain and unsure.

Any failure of crops would create some unemployment. People would have to emigrate in search of job. This position would be corrected by a good crop next season when more labour would be demanded, and some of these people would return back. This seasonal unemployment is not very appalling, but what is really very serious is the permanent unemployment in Agriculture in India. In any village, say fifty people have work on the basis of land. That village carries a population of more than fifty. Per capita work declines and also per capita consumption. This lowers the standard of living of the people who are notorious for their sub-human standard of living.

The large army of beggars should be permanently classed under Unemployment. They contribute their quota in full to the floating population of the country. They are unproductive in every sense but one. They have a great nuisance value.

For the rich class, who live upon the unearned income, unemployment is no problem. They float on when honest poor men flounder and sink.

UNMASKED UNEMPLOYMENT

The middle class which is mostly the educated class is in a state of flux. For this class, unemployment is a problem of life and death, and it is this class which has been vitally affected by unemployment. A very large number of educated middle class has nothing to fall back upon. He has a certain standard to maintain: He has a certain position to keep. All that he had, he invested upon his education. If he is denied work, he rapidly starts sliding down, and thus swells up the bottom class. Or he starts sponging upon his relations and friends.

This surplus of educated young men has emerged when the literacy percentage is under twelve. What will happen when the percentage is pushed up to ninety or over? The suggestion to control the supply of educated men is a wrong suggestion. The number of the educated men is bound to increase considerably, and it ought to. Therefore, the right suggestion is to increase the demand for educated men. That's the only way to solve the problem of unemployment in this class.

The increase in demand shall come from Industries, and not from the Government. The Government has a limited scope for expansion, while Industries have no limits. Side by side with the efforts to increase the demand, efforts should be made to limit the number of new mouths which are ushered in without rhyme or reason.

The Government by altering its policy and undertaking more activities can create more jobs for the young men. It is criminal for the Government to re-appoint men after they have retired from service. Either the

men are fit to carry on, and they should not be retired; or if they are retired, they should not be re-engaged. It appears that the Government is in favour of nepotism, for it concerns itself more with the emoluments of its favourites rather than with their work. It would have been a great farce if it were not a great tragedy to notice the manipulations of the Government with a view to make up for their favourites their full pay even after their retirement.

And then there is the question of extensions. Though the Government strictly prohibits it, yet it specialises in giving extensions. And who can say "no" to the Government? But does the Government realise that "Making up the Pay" or giving "Extensions" constitute a clear breach of faith with the young men? Are these young men to pray to Death for creating permanent vacancies in their favour?

An old man retiring on a thousand can easily provide ten young men good jobs on which they can bring up their family without throwing any additional burden upon the tax-

payers. The Government must give up their wrong policy, and thus succour the needy young men.

An appreciable number of these young men take to Politics not because they have any special likeness for it, but because they are FRUSTRATED. Their exuberance of vitality instead of being canalised into constructive channels is side-tracked and switched on into channels of Destruction. They demand space for standing which is overcrowded by the effete, old men; they demand the right to work so that they may have money to burn off their surplus energy. To these just demands the State and the Society says "No." Are these young men very wrong when they try to destroy the sorry state of affairs?

Put yourself in the position of educated young men in India. Fired with ideals, pulsating with life—they demand from the State and the Society the right to work. And both bang the door of entry on their face. The other side of the picture reveals to them in dull and grey shades, the Sahara tone of life—

Sans food, *Sans* companionship, and *Sans* hope. In a fit of fury, they hurl themselves against both. They get smashed, but some day these young men are going to end both. This is a fact, the reading of which cannot, and ought not, be camouflaged.

The old men in India and specially the pension-wallahs are mostly anti-social on account of their concentration upon Self, and their stay put mentality. To them I say, "Annihilate self and be Pro-social." They have piled up some money, they have their sources of income; and for them work is not necessary to finance their day-to-day expenditure. If they could give some portion of their rich experience and time for social betterment, or a portion of their money for the floatation of companies, they would be helping these young men to a great extent. The rate of unemployment will move down.

But what really happens. These old men have no time to give, for they are busy with their other world program. Their experience is rusted on account of the 'oyster life' they

lived. Their money they cannot risk, because of the changed view-point. Formerly a man would say that after retirement, twenty-five thousand rupees will do—two thousand per year. He considers his span of life ending at or before seventy-five—fifty-five plus twenty. With interest and withdrawals from capital, he carries on. And by the time of Exit, his capital has dwindled down to near about zero. But now he says that he should have, say, fifty thousand rupees so that he may have two thousand a year by way of interest. He wants to finance his expenditure out of interest, and does not want to eat up the capital. This will leave his egg of fifty thousand rupees intact even after he has left the planet. And those whom he leaves behind shall have their unearned income up to the umpteenth generation. This planning for eternity is shocking. It undermines the morale of the people by making them self-centred, and killing the spirit of adventure. To these old men and Pension-wallahs I would say: Believe in the wisdom of Mr. Henry Ford whose right to live a magni-

ficent life without work cannot be questioned, but he has so trained his mind that he cannot visualise life without work. Eating up the wealth created by others without contributing your quota is, according to him, not only anti-social, but immoral. Let every old man and Pension-Wallah put the question to himself, and answer it honestly to himself.

It would be an unpardonable vagary of temperament if I dogmatically assert that all old men and Pension-Wallahs are of the low type I have depicted. There are a few honourable exceptions, but alas! too few. I pay my tribute to them. They are the gems of purest ray serene. They are the lotus flowers blossoming to take up the sins of Man.

The sectional analysis of the human pyramid in India clearly shows that the burden of unemployment has fallen heavily upon the educated middle class, and this burden can be considerably lightened by a change in the vision of the Government and the people, and by developing Industries.

A few lines about wars, and their effect

upon unemployment. Wars solve this problem in a wrong way. They reduce unemployment by creating increased demand for men and materials. In the total war which this world is waging, the totality of resources both animate and inanimate are mobilised not for any productive work, but for the highly destructive work of killing men, women and children and animals; and also scorching earth and ruining investments. The present and the future generation are killed, and the property accumulated in the past and built in the present are blown-up sky high. Even the future wealth is mortgaged and eaten up to carry on the war. All the investment during the war are for destruction hence doubly unproductive.

Employment rate shoots up. But the aftermath of war sees a very large number of men and women removed from their war jobs. And thus again unemployment on a much bigger scale re-appears. In India, this ought not to be a big problem, because pre-war No. 2 India's military strength was negli-

gible, and its Industries were not developed.

If it is decided that the normal military strength of India would be maintained at the present level—two and a half millions standing army, then there ought not to be any demobilisation in the army. And then these two and a half millions shall have to be equipped, not by imported goods but, by goods manufactured in this country. Increase in the number of existing industries and establishment of new industries shall absorb all the labour released, and also new labour which will be set free by the mechanisation of Agriculture.

Industrialisation in India pre-supposes new order in Agriculture as to-day Agriculture is a definite drag upon the forward pace of our industries. What ten people do in our villages can be straight away done by one man with the aid of modern machinery and devices. This wastage of nine has to be stopped.

Somebody jocularly remarked that Agriculture in India should be spelt as "Agree culture." This dependence upon Fate and

Faith must be removed. The quick and sure way for not only reclaiming land, but also persons engaged in Agriculture is to Nationalise land. Will the State attempt it and achieve it ?

CHAPTER VIII
RE-CONSTRUCTION AND
MAINTENANCE

"The State makes mistakes, but it does not commit sins."

In the evolution of man to the present stage, there has always been a constant link with the Past, and so it shall be in the future unless a cataclysm occurs making a clear break with the Past. The Future then shall be busy in evolving Life from No-life, and so the old game will be re-played with variations. Man carries his link with the Past in his body and in his mind. The navel is a sure link with the Past. Physically it may be rubbed off, but mentally it shall persist and move on.

So unless there is a clear cut from the Past, a little of the old values shall persist. The building anew to a little extent in the future

shall be based upon them. In the totality of the building program, ninety per centum will be new construction upon the clear space of the old ruins dismembered and carted away, and ten per centum on the space occupied by the ruins, the debris of which has been clearly sorted and graded—rubbish removed—and re-utilised for completing the construction.

There are some needs which persist in man. Food and sex are the most important. Any human society run on any line shall have to make provision for the same. Basically these demands not only exist, but they persist. The *modus operandi* of obtaining food may change, but the demand for food in one form or the other will continue. Instead of raising food from the earth, the future society may get all its food from the Air or from the Waters. *Ersatz* products may solve this problem for man. In the realm of sex, renewal of the specie in or out of wedlock will continue unless man decides to end the race. Man's need for woman, and woman's need for man

is thus imperative unless human beings become hermaphrodites.

Thus a certain amount of link with the Past is necessary, but that will have to be modified by the changed conditions of the future. This is what is called Re-construction.

But what about conditions which never existed in the Past? What about new forces creating the new urge? How can they be roped in within the narrow compass of Re-construction? Slight deviations from the Past, a few small gaps here and there, a little alteration; they can be set right by planning on the old lines. But for entirely new set of conditions, we must have new planning and new construction. Then alone the flow of life will achieve its normality. An incessant fight must be carried on against the ossification of Brain as it is a great drag on the flow of Life. In point of fact, ossification in any form is an enemy of man. A judicious planning presupposes the annihilation of this enemy of man. In the New Order, what will be the attitude of man towards Men, Women

and Children? towards Caste System? Money, Religion, Army, etc.? A little analysis will show that some attitudes will be completely discarded, some will be altered, and some new attitudes will have to be discovered and developed in order to enable man to develop a world out-look, and take a leap not only through space but across centuries.

It has been made clear that whatever the state of human society be in the Future, man shall not accept the domination of man over man. This problem becomes all the more complex when he starts thinking of himself in terms of the world—from the parochial outlook to the world outlook is certainly a big jump. Women refuse to have themselves shackled by the man-made fetters. They have moved far away from the days when they formed the first movable property of man. Free union on a fifty-fifty basis. It would be interesting if a galop vote on "Marriages are made in Heaven" is taken. The figures will really be very startling. Children have raised their tiny voice which is developing into a

mighty roar against their unplanned manufacture. They demand, and very rightly too, Insurance Against Two Parties Action.

Can there be any method by which the tyrannical, arbitrary and illogical system of Castes be projected into the Society of the Future? All castes will merge into one single denomination of Man. Money shall be made to play a very recessive part in the future society. It shall certainly lose its nefarious power over man. Religion shall be the affair of individuals, and not of the group. *It shall be personal and private.*

In a world State, the functions of the Army will be those of the Police. Further, there will not be a clear demarcation between the military and the civil. All the people being the joint-owners of the world, and having their due share of the resources of the world, shall neither have the inclination nor the time to fly at each other's throat.

It is clear that these colossal changes will not materialise in a day. But they serve excellently well as pointers, pointing the direc-

tion in which the pent-up feelings of the people will find relief to-morrow.

Any muddled thinking or addled thoughts will not provide ample room for release of the forward surging thoughts of man. If persisted in, it may be that the flare-up will burn everything and the whole world may be reduced to a heap of cinders out of which Phoenix may or may not arise.

Thus in the M.P., Re-construction will play a very minor part. The future is with and for construction.

Once a thing is constructed or re-constructed, every effort shall be made to maintain it properly. We should not leave the work of Maintenance upon gods. Any scheme of expansion must not be at the cost of maintenance. If the existing assets cannot be well maintained, then there is very little sense in increasing the assets. Once a thing is achieved, every effort should be made to maintain it in a perfect condition. If it has outlasted its usefulness, dismember it, destroy it, or preserve it in a museum. There is no room for

it in the fast flowing life.

The above few lines are necessary by way of warning. It appears that the Governments these days are becoming reckless about maintenance. They consider that money spent upon maintenance is a sheer waste, and money saved by curtailing it or ignoring it is good money earned to be frittered away in enlarging or building something new. Any new enlargement at the cost of the existing one is sure and certain wrong tactics.

In M. P, considerable reserve will always be kept for the proper over-haul and maintenance of the things created. And if they become useless, they will be scrapped and not foolishly carried forward only to hamper the onward rush of humanity. Through and through every strata of Re-construction and Construction, Maintenance principle will run like a streak of silver binding them closely or knitting them together. This is a principle which should always be kept in view, and never lost sight of.

CHAPTER IX
APPLICATION

"I think, I feel, I act, I am."

Just as one thinks; one feels, acts and becomes. The ideas are everything, the rest are derivatives. But in the world of to-day, ideas have very little value. Confused thinking and selfish outlook, have considerably discounted the value of ideas. In the foregoing chapters, some ideas—old, old clothed in new, and new—are promulgated. If they set people thinking, the purpose is served. And if they make the Governments leap forward—lasso the Future and domesticate her—well, that would be a miracle. But this much is certain that the ideas aim at elevating mankind, and not lowering it. In this chapter, the ideas discussed are tentatively applied to the world, British India, and India.

The area of the globe—both land and water—is 197,000,000 sq. miles, and the area of the Earth's surface is 52,000,000 sq. miles with two and a quarter billion of human beings. Where men gather in units, various problems crop up automatically as they are inherent to life. Can any one estimate the bigness and the vastness of the unending series of problems in which two and a quarter billion people of different shades, types, religions, mentality, etc., get enmeshed? Then the increase due to permutations and combinations of the problems themselves raises the number to astronomical figures. Man loses all count, for he has not expanded his parochial outlook. *Global problems require global outlook.*

A man with a global mind sees in all these baffling issues, one basic factor: Man is man. These two and a quarter billion people are human beings and so their needs—Preservation and Procreation—are common to all. He wants food and he wants sex. And he resents when he is starved while some have plenty. This is the root cause of all troubles.

On a small scale, they cause riots ; and on a large scale they cause wars. Therefore, draw up a plan for solving global problems, and put the first item : Man is man.

Man is a thinking animal. He is not prepared to put up with differential treatment, for he demands the same rights for himself as others enjoy. He takes his stand on *Man qua man*. Therefore, this would be the second item. Women claim with men arrangements on a fifty-fifty basis. They are not prepared to accept any one-sided, heavily weighted basis in favour of man. The equality in inequality just as unity in diversity has to be conceded, and no program of construction can ignore it. Billions of people with problems running into trillions on account of their inherent differences, and created limitations, have to be brought to one set plan so that they may work willingly and harmoniously.

Then shall arise the equitable distribution of the resources of the globe. Equitable distribution will not mean equality in distribution. It means distribution in proportion to the

utilisable capacity of the people. The criterion will be the extent to which the people can productively utilise what is given to them. The disparity between men and women shall not arise as fifty-fifty basis will prevent it from arising. The case of the children in the New Order shall not create any problem, because every problem shall be studied from their standpoint. Men and women bringing them into existence shall be jointly and severally held responsible for their nurture, upkeep, and uplift. They shall pool their resources and share them for the advantage of the children on fifty-fifty basis.

The above are big problems, and they can be solved by Brobdingnagian minds. There is no dearth of resources. Marine wealth, Air wealth, Earth wealth have to be utilised with a view to raise the standard of living. Half the population of the world being composed of women, the sex problem can also be solved. But all these shall be possible if the arch-enemy of Man—Pose—is completely exterminated.

Pose denatures man. The essence of Pose

lies in being untrue to one's inner self. Thus man becomes more selfish and self-deceiving, and does more direct harm to himself and indirect harm to everybody. Take an example. The pose of the white man stinks, because he bases his superiority on his colour, knowing full well that colour as a standard for measuring human values is false. After taking up a wrong position, he tries to attune his inner self to this false standard. This makes his life false. He knows it, and others know it. He does a distinct harm to himself and also to others who come into contact with him. The fact is that there is no virtue in colour. Christ was a coloured man.

Man is man ; Man qua man ; Equitable distribution ; and utter annihilation of Pose are some of the new weapons which humanity has to forge in order to construct and keep clear the new path on which humanity shall travel in the New Era.

British India has an area of 910,507 sq. miles with a population of 296 million. A more hopelessly divided country than India,

in the whole world, does not exist. It is divided on innumerable imaginable and unimaginable basis. And it is so enveloped by the dense smoke of chaos that no ray of light can pass through it. Not only people feel aphyxiated, but they can't see things in their true perspective. Even the arch of Faith cannot bridge the widening gaps amongst the different sets of people inhabiting this unfortunate country in fetters—India.

While the people in British India talk of man's equality with man, they are not prepared to concede that equality even to their countrymen who have lived in this country for thousands of years; they talk of the high position of women, but they fix its ceiling definitely below man; they clamour for more wealth in order to fritter away a large portion of it upon non-economic pursuits. Between one religion and the other, there is a war to the finish. Everything is mobilised and canalised to keep the widening gulfs ever-growing wider and wider. Reason has lost all sway over the people. God of Chaos is the supreme deity

whom the people worship, and the whole country is one big lunatic asylum.

The position has worsened on account of the extreme fondness for played out, decadent values. *Pose masks life in India*. People have forgotten the art of tuning themselves in harmony with the inner self. In the new order to come, India will be a big hurdle to jump over. It may not be able to arrest the onward march of humanity, but it can certainly delay the achievement. Or it may be crushed out of existence. Or where Reason has failed, Force may succeed. A great calamity forced upon it from outside, or a great internal upheaval, may restore sanity. Indian humanity may have to welter in human blood before it throws its weight on the side of world humanity. This blood-purge can only be avoided if the people are made to realise that humanity has reached the point from where the road bifurcates—one goes to the left, the Past; and the other goes to the right, the Future. The drag of the Past is towards repetition, stagnation, and peace: Peace which

immobilises man by fixing him upon tradition and obedience to authority. This peace is only another name for decay. The lift of the Future is composed of anxiety and effort—ceaseless effort to evolve the new order, and to stabilise it in order to make the work of Construction successful.

In this country, it is not the people who hold opinions, but it is the opinion which holds them. People are activated by impulses. There is no harm in impulses which we control; but considerable harm in impulses which control us. And unfortunately in this country, the latter swamps out the former.

The re-actionary views of the Third Party—the Government which as late as the middle of the twentieth century thinks in terms of the distant past, and ignores even the near future—multiply clashes, and makes any understanding real and lasting difficult, if not impossible. It can, if it has the sense to read the signs of time, help India by setting its feet on the path of the Future—away from the path of the Past. It still believes in blending Imperialism

with Dynamic Democracy just as millions in this country believe in blending Politics with Religion. Both busy in weaving their web of Deceit and Treachery.

Re-construction for them is, therefore, the right plan; because they are still keen to play their game of hoodwinking man by masking Reason. And that is why they are busy with it. But do they not realise that people are getting disgusted with their old technique in its new garb? In their impatience, they may shatter their scheme into bits and mould them after their (people) heart's desire.

In Indian India, the conditions to a very large extent are as painted above. The picture gets complete if two more factors are put in: one, the addition of one more party—His Highness; and the other, the time-lag. While British India is nearing 1950 A. D., most of the Indian States are five hundred years behind it. *Feudalism and the world state do not fit in well.*

As Indian States occupy 712,508 Sq. miles with a population exceeding 93 millions,

so you got to take cognisance of them. You cannot ignore their existence. They exist, and they count. In the New Order, the States can play an important part if they make a determined effort to align themselves with the new thoughts. They must give up depending upon British bayonets. They must learn to depend upon themselves. And we in British India can help them a good deal by making the right approach. So far we have followed a determined policy of antagonising them particularly the Hindu States.

We have no business to assume that all the States are slipping down or moving backward. Some of the States particularly in South India and Western India can give points to British India and beat it hollow. There is much lee-way to be made up by the States in Northern India and Eastern India. It is the irony of fate that concerted action was made to create trouble in some of the best managed States in India. In the States, all life radiates from the Palace. Therefore, the sacred duty of His Highness to give the right lead to his

people cannot be questioned. And most of their Highnesses have failed in the discharge of their sacred duty ! This has created tension which is further aggravated by the sympathetic support which we give to the States people. This enables them to stiffen up their attitude.

The small States have no future. Either they will cease to exist or by merger, they will have to evolve bigger units. Out of more than five hundred States, there is room only for a score or so. They should from now on get going. The big States have to throw their lot with us in a sort of reciprocal understanding based on mutuality of interests. They have no option on account of Geographical vicinity, and Socio-Economic cum Political factors.

If along with this new change, they seriously tackle the basic problems of their people; then all the strength they need shall come from their own people. After all, the ruling house in the State has thousands of years contacts with its people, and so have they. There

is still visible in the States, Feelings, Affection and Loyalty for the ruling house which one does not see in any part of the world where monarchy does not exist. But the monarch to command the fidelity of the people must be *sans* reproach. The honour of the house must be pure and untarnished, else the people will turn away from the monarch.

It is a great tragedy that most of the States cater for the low pleasures of the Palace, and ignore the vital needs of the people. People want peace, food and a well-regulated social life. They certainly resent the maintenance of peace through the instrumentality of the Paramount Power; they revolt against starvation specially when they know that the State does nothing to increase their purchasing capacity, and wastes away what little it has got. They bide their time when they see the disruption of their social life by the nefarious incursions of the Palace. No amount of "John Bull's Whitewashing" can make the above daubs invisible because they are the blood clots of the people.

If in British India, the Government raises one anna where any sensible planning and operation would enable it to get one rupee; no one can deny the fact that most of the States get one pice where they can raise one rupee. Naturally people groan under the crushing weight of poverty, and the feelings get embittered. A starving man has no respect for law, and the only way to stop him from violating the laws is to incur more unproductive expenditure upon Judiciary, Police, Jail and Military. This waste of productive enterprise and money throws more burden upon the starving men. And thus the vicious circle goes on spreading disaster and ruin all round!

If on the other hand you adopt MP, get more from the land, water and air; then the people will be contented, and the unproductive expenditure will go down considerably. Take two examples, and learn something useful from them. Do not treat them as flights of fancy, and brush them aside. They have a meaning. Get it.

U. K. is one-twentieth in ~~area of India~~
WASHINGTON

and Burma with one-seventh population, but its revenue pre-war was seven times that of India and Burma. Why can't we increase our income ten times within five years when we have all the economic factors in our favour? Our wealth does not lie in passing the buck to and fro; but in our land, waters and air. These three arms properly co-ordinated, and worked for the service of man will transform the leaden hue which spreads over the whole country into golden colours. Pre-war, one single factory Guineesses in the poorest part of Europe (Dublin) used to pay tax to the Irish Free State (now Eire) which sum exceeded the total Gross income of the U. P. Government. Is it not a fact that forests in Germany were made to earn per acre thirty to fifty times more than our forests? What is wrong with our forests?—the rich, Himalayan forests teeming with untold wealth which Nature goes on furnishing every year, but Man goes on neglecting it and starving!

Of all the Indian States, Kashmir has the best chance of doubling its income within a

short period. And it is this State which has alienated the sympathies of its starving people ! "The Vale of Roses" enjoys an international reputation. No effort has been made to convert this reputation into cash by developing tourist traffic, by organising summer and winter games and sports. Kashmir in this matter can take a lesson from Switzerland. It must learn the new Economics which teaches that climate, water scenery can be made to contribute their full quota in swelling up the income of the State.

Kashmir has an excellent reputation in shawls, wood work, silver work, etc. Its artistic goods are well appreciated. Its saffron and fruits can capture any market in the world. The State should stamp these goods when they are exported, and charge a certain amount for it. The well-known Jaeger principle. The forests which contribute two annas per acre can be made to earn for the State at least ten rupees per acre—a rise of eighty times. The minor produce of its forests can fetch high prices because they

are so good. Its mineral wealth is permitted to remain under the earth probably to keep company with men who are dying of hunger. In these days of Petroleum shortage, no effort has been made to utilise its deposits!

It has a fortune in wines industry, and chemical and Dyes industries only if it has a determined will and the new vision. It is pathetic to see people starving and dying in a State which Nature has so liberally endowed. Its Geographical position makes it pre-eminent-ly suited for the monopolisation of the Central-Asian trade, and the development of Sino-Kashmir trade. But what can be done when men attempt to squeeze the sap out of creation, convert it into manure, and call it a productive act?

SPECIAL NOTE ON U. S. A.

U. S. A. has been scattering its goods and its promises for the redemption of humanity in rather too big a scale. One-hundredth of its four-fold program, it shall not be able to cash. The doped and duped humanity waking out.

of its illusion will not be in a good mood. And frustration of one's cherished dreams does multiply misunderstanding. Where is the sense in making promises which one cannot fulfil?

If it is only a political stunt, then I sincerely advise America to give it up as people have no faith in the promises of politicians. After all a politician is a parasitic hook-worm in the body of Democracy.

America shall have to tackle big problems of its own after the war is over. It has the resources, and it has the will and the knowledge to utilise them efficiently. It also stands at the bifurcation of the roads. If it takes to the left—The past, it shall work up Re-construction: Patch up the devastations caused by war and gobbel up South America and a few other places. But if it moves to the right—the Future, it shall work up Construction: Give the first place to Man and the world. America to-day is not sure of the path it will take, and so it has no business to make promises to the ear and break them to the heart.

CHAPTER X

M. P.

*"All theory, dear friend, is grey,
And green, alone, life's golden tree."* (Goethe)

In My Planning, construction will be based upon Life itself, and not upon temporary changes. Only there would be enough of elasticity—expansion and contraction—to cope with the constant changes inherent in Life itself. And should an upheaval introduce such big changes that the old order fails to curb or control life, there will not be a moment's hesitation in supplanting the old order and filling up the void so created by another program of New Construction. The mistake will not be committed as it is being committed to-day, namely, of trying to adjust the onward rushing life on the old basis. That simply cannot be done, and, if, force is used, there

might be a smash up causing great harm to human society.

All activities radiate out of the "life's golden tree," and all efforts will be made to keep it perennially "green." The frost of unreason will be warded off, so that the tree may grow and expand—send out its offshoots. The frost blurs the vision. This will also be guarded against. Result—clear outlook and prosperous growth. This is the ideal. How to achieve it?

My M P in attempting this Herculean task shall take stock not only of the new forces but also their tempo. And it will completely ignore the wrong values which are being picked up to re-construct the new society on the old basis. In place of Ruralisation, Urbanisation will be the Key-note. Large number of surplus men from the villages will be shifted into the cities to work in the factories. Within five years, India shall increase the number of cities by, at least, fifty. This increase by the conversion of towns or groups of villages into cities will absorb the shifted population

from the villages, and thus pressure on the soil will be lessened.

Wages shall be paid on the basis of family as an unit and not on the basis of individual. Therefore a family shall be defined. A family of five members—two parents, and three children: Two children to replace the parents, and one to meet the contingency—should be a normal, average family. The wages paid to the earning member shall enable him to bring up, on a human standard, his family. Female labour in the factories shall be definitely discouraged as women leave their home for work in the factories. And a labourer's home without wife is no home at all, because he cannot afford to engage servants to look after his children or home. Creche is no solution of the above. It does help considerably the poor children if their mothers or women folk take up work in factories. They should not be allowed.

Then shall be determined the amount of land that each family should have. No agriculture should be permitted on uneconomic

holdings. And this level of holding should not be on a flat basis. Local conditions shall be taken into consideration. For example, in Rajputana the minimum acreage may be ten, in the Indo-Gangetic valley it may be five, and so on.

In the factories, the wages will be on the basis of family, and the same will be correlated with the hours of work. In a civilised country and under the existing conditions, thirty hours a week ought to be the rule. If this throws a toppling burden upon the Industries, the State should come to the rescue of the Industries. It should contribute its quota for the civic functions of the labourer. He produces children, brings them up, and thus keeps the race going. He takes part in civic activities. For these non-industrial activities, he must get something from the Government.

After the above is achieved, man's domination over men and over women shall be ended. There is no room for the swankiness and snobbishness of man. He styles himself the Lord of Creation though the latest in crea-

tion is woman. He abrogates all the powers unto himself, and thus causes harm to the others. He shall have to unlearn good many wrong things he picked up during his course of evolution. He shall have to give up dominating man, or else he shall have to keep himself ready for protecting himself or attacking others who challenge his domination. The fact is that *man is man's equal*. He has understood this, but neither appreciates it nor puts it into practice. He pays merely lip homage to this fundamental truth.

With women, the adjustment should be on a fifty-fifty basis. The dual code particularly in the Sex domain should be forthwith scrapped. The complimentary view between man and woman should prevail, and not the competitive view. Even the non-violent, non-cooperation between the two shall suffice for writing an epitaph on the tombstone of the present human race. Women are *comrades-in-arms*—literally and figuratively. Between comrades, there is faith, honour and fifty-fifty arrangement.

A good rational plan does not eschew out all emotion, for it knows that man can dominate heart, control it to a certain extent, but cannot completely ignore it. All reason and no emotion will make life dull, dreary and drab. The leaden view of life can be transmuted into a golden hue by emotion and so due allowance must be made for it. Women and Faith are the two chief components of Emotion. But that faith which shatters belief in authority, and restores the authority of belief, or frees the body from fetters and puts the brain in fetters, is decidedly perverse and atrocious. It must be choked off.

These fundamental changes have to be reckoned with not on a regional basis, but on the basis of the world. Mankind shall work not upon the regional resources, but upon the resources of the world. All the productive resources will be pooled together, and every man shall have the right to draw from it according to his basic needs. What constitutes the basic needs is a question which shall be thoroughly gone into, and determined?

Every burden will be thrown upon man and woman in order to create children's paradises on this earth. The problems of hygiene, food, brawn-and-brain building shall be satisfactorily solved. The large amount of energy mobilised for military purposes shall be released and canalised into productive channels; for in a world state with world humanity, there is no room for wars.

People in a well-planned world state shall have plenty of leisure. How is that leisure to be utilised will be another big problem to solve? And on the right solution of that problem will depend the peace of man. It is truly said that an idle man's brain is a devil's workshop. He shall have to be kept busy in following pursuits which delight him.

The world being a much bigger place than the zones into which the countries are split up to-day arbitrarily and illogically will present such vast problems to the educated and intellectuals that their surplus time and energy shall be spent in solving and adjusting those problems. Moreover Arts and aesthetic pursuits

will be considerably developed. The world humanity by their joint effort has yet to evolve a world culture. The unintellectuals during the course of time will cease to exist — this classification in the New Order will gradually die out. But as long as they exist, they shall have to be utilised and kept busy. They would be busy in transforming themselves into the class of intellectuals. Moreover, new burdens will be willingly taken up by man in order to raise the standard of living all round. Burdens to create the children's paradise, the aged people's paradise, the labourer's paradise, the paradise for the sick and the unfit, etc., shall require of healthy adult men and women work, work, and work; but work will not be distasteful as it is to-day. Hours and conditions of work will be the lightest and the best, the element of compulsion will be taken off completely, the selfish propensities will be transmuted into altruistic, incentives, and the disparity between the wages, shall be levelled up. Not only the disparity between the wages, but also the disparity bet-

ween the wages and the salaries will be made to synchronise. In point of fact, when everybody is educated, each man shall have to do both types of work—work requiring brawns, and work requiring brains. Thus in thirty hours a week work, there will be a few hours a week brawn-work and the rest brain-work depending upon the capacity and the liking of the workers.

Man will then learn the supreme lesson that in seeking and in finding there is not ever an end, nor is there an end in seeking and not finding. *The end is in seeking.* And certainly not in frittering away one's time and energy in attaining *Nirvana* or *Moksha* which, in my considered and mature opinion, is the absolute Zero of Life. This will bring "the Kingdom of Heaven" into this earth. What greater and nobler aim can man have?

MP is no utopia. It may sound far-fetched to-day, but the forces are moving in the direction pointed out. Shorning it of its trappings and frills; it simply demands security of Livelihood, Human Standard of Living, Impartial

Justice and Political, Religious and Cultural
Freedom for Man. "Breathes there the man
'with soul so dead,'" who says "Nay" to the
above.